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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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18 October 1984

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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MPLA, YUGOSLAV SOCIALIST ALLIANCE HOLD TALKS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 23 Aug 84 p 1

[Text] Official talks between the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola-Party of Labor (MPLA-PT) and the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia, headed by Lucio Lara, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and secretary for organization, and Nenad Bucin, member of the presidency of the Socialist Alliance of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, respectively, began today in the party headquarters in Luanda.

On that occasion, Lucio Lara, in the name of the Central Committee, expressed thanks for the visit of such an important delegation, underscoring the inestimable support of the Yugoslav people since the beginning of the struggle of the Angolan people, who "became accustomed to seeing them as close friends.

"We want to recall that over the years we have collaborated closely for the peace and progress of peoples not only in bilateral relations but also in the concert of the United Nations and the nonaligned countries," added Lucio Lara.

"Your presence is another step in the strengthening of our bonds, which have been exemplary," said the member of the political Bureau in conclusion.

Nenad Bucin then voiced his conviction that the visit he is making represents another expression of friendship and mutual collaboration in the important work of building socialism.

The secretary of the Central Committee for foreign affairs, Afonso Vandunem (Mbinda) and the director of the Foreign Affairs Department of the party, Antonio Lengue, are also members of the Angolan delegation to the talks.

In the meantime, the delegation of the Socialist Alliance, which began a 4-day visit to the People's Republic of Angola on Monday, has already held meetings with the ministers of foreign affairs and defense, Paulo Teixeira Jorge and Pedro Maria Tonha (Pedale), respectively. It also visited the Armed Forces Museum.

Tomorrow afternoon, the delegation is scheduled to visit the facilities of the Combal factory and hold a meeting with the local party organization. It will also be honored at an official dinner given by the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee for organization, Lucio Lara.

Today, it is scheduled to meet with the secretary general of the National Union of Workers of Angola (UNTA) and member of the Political Bureau, Pascoal Luvualu, and to visit the Anthropological Museum.

8711

CSO: 3442/480

OFFICIAL PRAISES BORDER GUARD TROOPS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 28 Aug 84 p 3

[Text] The commemorations connected with the sixth anniversary of the establishment of the Border Guard Troops of Angola (TGFA) which was marked throughout the country on the 26th, concluded Sunday in Luanda. The main ceremony was held in the command headquarters of that military unit and was presided over by Delfim de Castro of the party Central Committee and deputy minister of state security.

After the presentation of the troops on parade, the national political director of the TGFA made a brief introduction about the work of the troops, underscoring the establishment of units in the most threatened areas of our country.

"On the northern and southern borders," said Captain Kidi, "the TGFA has known how to fulfill its patriotic duty together with the other units of the glorious People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA)."

Then the commander of the TGFA, Lieutenant Colonel Moises Agostinho (Kale), in his speech, stressed the role of that unit of the FAPLA as quite important for our revolutionary process because "they are the force that in time of war or peace guarantee the inviolability of our sea, river and air frontiers."

Reviewing the operational work of the troops, Lieutenant Colonel Kale considered that there was considerable progress in improving the organization of the troops in almost all the regions of the country, reporting also that "at this moment, our troops control about 70 percent of the border strip of Cunene Province despite the South African arrogance of killing time in withdrawing its invasion troops."

That military official revealed also that airspace violations have been resumed in the 5th, 7th and 9th Regions by the South African Air Force, from whom the puppets of the little National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) group asked for help to massacre the Angolan people. He announced, that during the year 69,504 operational activities were conducted during the year spread out over various parts of the country.

Referring to the difficulties they are struggling with, Moises Agostinho said that "the lack of air, sea, river and optical resources do not permit the better utilization of the capacity of the Border Guard Troops."

At the conclusion of his speech, the commander of the TGFA urged the officers, sergeants and enlisted men to remain constantly on the alert and to take anticipatory actions that may neutralize enemy maneuvers. "It is also necessary," he said, "for us to be disciplined in order that we may gain the support and trust of the people who live in the border areas."

Promotions

On that occasion, a promotion order signed by the minister of state security, Dino Matrosse, was read, authorizing the promotion of some first and second lieutenants of that military unit to the next higher rank.

Concluding Speech

In his speech concluding the main ceremony of Border Guard Troops of Angola Day, Lieutenant Colonel Delfim de Castro considered that the sixth anniversary was being commemorated at a time when the situation of the country is characterized by the intensification of the political-military situation.

Delfim de Castro, who framed his speech in the context of the military situation imposed upon us by the South African racists and their lackeys, declared also that "the TGFA have known how to repel the enemy who, at the behest of imperialism, are preventing the people in the border zones from carrying on their daily work in peace."

He also called for the improvement of political-ideological work among the fighters assigned to the border zones so that they will also be able to cope with the enemy propaganda in this field of struggle. "It is necessary to improve party work among the fighters in order to make known to them the political line of our party and the objectives of our struggle."

8711

CSO: 3442/480

BRIEFS

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH CUBA--The ministers of foreign trade of Cuba and Angola, Ricardo Cabrisas and Ismael Martins, respectively, recently signed a trade agreement which will permit the export of medicines and sugar to Angola, while Cuba will receive Angolan lumber. It will be recalled that Minister Ismael Martins has been visiting Cuba since the 6th of this month at the invitation of his Cuban counterpart, Ricardo Cabrisas. During his stay, the Angolan official has been taking up questions pertaining to trade relations, their expansion and development. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 29 Aug 84 p 2] 8111

MAGAZINE RESUMES PUBLICATION--The fourth issue of the magazine PANORAMICA HUILANA, organ of the Provincial Commissariat of Huila, has just been released after about 1-year's absence. The publication chief explained that the timeliness of the magazine has been affected by problems of offset material and the lack of a permanent chief editor, a vacancy which has only now been filled. He admitted that it is a modest magazine but that it attempts to fill a breach that is felt especially as regards periodical information about the concrete accomplishments of the province, "a need long felt and recognized by all." This fourth issue of the magazine, which has a circulation of 5,000 copies, includes an editorial, a retrospective report on the presidential visit to Huila, reports on enterprises important to the national economy and some cultural articles, 30 pages in all. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 30 Aug 84 p 2] 8711

DELEGATION VISITS USSR--An Angolan delegation comprised of party and government officials is beginning a working visit to the USSR today, the first stage of a trip that will later take it to Bulgaria. Headed by the deputy minister of foreign trade, Guerreiro Dias, the delegation will have contacts with local agricultural and trade officials for the exchange of experiences in the area of farm marketing and in the cooperative movement. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 30 Aug 84 p 3] 8711

BULGARIAN ARTISTS VISIT--An artistic group from Bulgaria arrived in Angola Tuesday to participate in the festivities of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in that country, which is marked on 9 September. In the course of the commemorative activities that will take place in Luanda up to that date, the artistic group will present various musical concerts in military units, the headquarters of the Angolan League and Solidarity With the Peoples (LAASP), the Combal factory and the Rosa Linda villa in Luanda. According to the schedule, the Bulgarian artistic group will leave the Angolan capital for Mozambique. [Text]
[Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 30 Aug 84 p 3] 8711

CSO: 3442/483

MASIRE PICKS WOMAN FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS POST

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 14 Sep 84 p 10

[Article by Patrick Laurence]

[Text]

PRESIDENT Quett Masire of Botswana yesterday nominated a woman to serve as Minister of Foreign Affairs in place of the present Foreign Minister, Mr Archie Mogwe, who was defeated in the general election last weekend.

She is Dr Gaositwe Chiepe, the present Minister of Mineral Resources and Water Affairs, who is regarded as one of the ablest members of the Cabinet.

Mr Mogwe has been nominated as Minister of Mineral Resources and Water Affairs in place of Dr Chiepe.

Dr Chiepe will take over the Foreign Affairs Ministry at a sensitive time, as Botswana is currently being pressed by South Africa to sign a security pact. South African proposals for an agreement have already been submitted to Botswana.

Dr Chiepe, a pragmatist in the same mould as Mr Mogwe and a woman of high intelligence, is well-equipped to fill the portfolio.

Mr Mogwe's inclusion in the Cabinet means he is certain to be nominated by President Masire as a candidate for election as an MP by the National Assembly.

Under the Botswana Constitution, the 34 elected MPs elect four additional MPs.

As President Masire's Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) won 29 of the 34 seats

in the election, Mr Mogwe is certain to be elected.

The only remaining change in the Cabinet is the exclusion of the Home Affairs Minister, Mrs K L Disele, who was defeated in the election.

The Minister of Local Government and Lands, Mr Englishman Kgabo, has been nominated to replace Mrs Disele.

One of the Ministers to be re-appointed was the "white Motswana," Mr Colin Blackwell. He was re-appointed as Minister of Works and Communications. Mr Blackwell shared with Dr Chiepe the distinction of obtaining the highest majority for the ruling party. Both secured majorities of about 8 000 votes.

Polling in the election was very high — almost 72% as against 31.2% in 1974 and 58.4% in 1979.

Although the ruling BDP won handsomely at national level, it suffered some embarrassing defeats at the local level (elections for district and town councils were held simultaneously with the poll for the National Assembly).

In the capital, Gaborone, the opposition Botswana National Front won 10 of the 13 town council seats. In Jwaneng it took all four town council seats. In Francistown another opposition party, the Botswana People's Party, captured 7 of the 11 seats.

REASONS CITED FOR DRIVE TO LIGHTEN UP MILITARY DISCIPLINE

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 24 Aug 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Revolution and Discipline"]

[Excerpts] As defenders of the people, the Armed Forces must set the highest standards of discipline, and yet we can all cite examples of military personnel misusing the authority conferred on them by their uniforms and arms for their own personal ends. We are aware of the misuse of vehicles and equipment paid for by the people's taxes. We know of soldiers who are more concerned with business deals than with their duties.

It is therefore welcome news that the Force Commander, Major General Arnold Quainoo, has been spearheading a drive to tighten up disciplinary standards, in order to give the Ghana Armed Forces a truly revolutionary image. These efforts are being watched with appreciation.

Much of the laxity which has infiltrated the Armed Forces is due to the failure of officers and NCOs to act promptly and decisively on offences which came to their notice.

Cases exist of officers rendering themselves ineffective by committing the very offences which they are expected to check in their subordinates, and thereby losing the respect and cooperation of their men. Even when their personal behaviour is exemplary, many of them are slow to act on disciplinary matters, leaving offences unpunished and even covering up for offenders in order to curry favour.

There are many cases of unauthorised or careless use of military vehicles, leading to waste and even total loss, which are not swiftly acted upon.

Such offences are not, of course, restricted to the Military, Ministries, Departments and many organisations are also the scene of such misuse, and if those in charge of such bodies should take a cue from the disciplinary measures being undertaken by the Armed Forces, a great deal of waste would be prevented. The GRAPHIC wonders why some of these civilian organisations do not adapt and adopt certain parts of the Armed Forces Rules and Regulations in order to instil greater discipline in their staff.

There are instances of officers who have been allocated residential accommodation in barracks, but have not occupied their quarters, with the result that lousies, furniture and fittings have been stolen.

Dubious deals and negligence in the purchase and care of stores and equipment have led to substantial losses.

Operational service abroad has been regarded by many military personnel simply as a chance to bring in goods for resale. For example, each man is allowed to bring in one bag of rice on his return to Ghana, but if, out of a contingent of 600, only 200 can afford a bag for their personal use, the military "businessmen" move in to utilize the remaining 400. Such abuse of import privileges for commercial gain has attracted businessmen and their agents to the barracks, where they divert the attention of soldiers from their primary responsibilities.

Equipment and even weapons are sold in the Middle East to raise more capital for trading, whilst the missing items are reported "Lost" on operations. In the current drive to achieve the expected level of exemplary discipline required in a revolutionary military organisation, offenders are currently being dealt with firmly and decisively without favour not only for any offences or negligence on their part, but for any delay or neglect of disciplinary action which they are expected to carry out on the men for whom they are responsible.

CSO: 3400/15

NEW WEALTH TAX TO COMBAT UNEQUAL TAX LIABILITY

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 21 Aug 84 p]

[Editorial: "Equity and Taxes"]

[Text]

ONE major inequity in our tax system is the glaring fact that those who are in self-employed occupations and are financially better off than the salaried or wage earner are able to evade income and other taxes, and thereby pay less to the cost of developing this country in relation to their taxable capacity.

Therefore, whilst appropriate measures continue to be taken by the government to ensure that the tax machinery is more efficient and thereby eliminate the widespread tax evasion among the self-employed, it is necessary at the same time to ensure that those who are wealthy and therefore, have better capacity to pay tax should be made to contribute more to the development of the State, instead of demanding more from the impoverished salaried worker.

It is against this background that the recent enactment by the PNDC of the Wealth Tax law under which net wealth above C0.5 million will be taxed is to be viewed, and not simply as a measure for taxing the rich because they are rich.

The assets which are to be taken into account in determining the Net Wealth under the law are:-

1. Buildings
2. Undeveloped urban building plots
3. Uncultivated arable lands lying within five kilometres of any trunk road and all-weather feeder roads
4. Motor vehicles other than commercial vehicles
5. Pleasure boats, yachts, and personal or private aircraft.

It is estimated that at least 100 million cedis will be yielded annually by the new law.

The fixing of the minimum net wealth tax at C0.5 million ensures that the well-to-do in the society are liable to tax. The rate of tax which ranges from 0.25 per cent on net wealth worth C0.5-C1 million, to 5 per cent on net wealth worth C5 million also ensures that the assessee is able to pay the tax.

The two precautions are important. If the assessee is unable to pay the tax because he has no income from which to pay it, he must either sell the property to pay the tax or have the property sold by the tax authority to make good the tax. In either case, the tax may rather erroneously be viewed as a machinery for expropriation.

But the 'GRAPHIC' invites the public to view the new Wealth Tax as part of the government's overall strategy to reshape our economy. Not only does the government seek to spread the tax liability more equally, but it also seeks to ensure a rational use of the monies so collected.

Recent PNDC directive restricting foreign travels by Secretaries and other government officials, directives on the employment of expatriates where suitably qualified Ghanaians are available, and those relating to the allowances of diplomatic personnel are part of attempts to manage the country's finances on sound basis.

The 'GRAPHIC' wishes to remind the public that development will only be achieved through the proper utilization of our human and material resources. And this does not exclude taxation on wealth which unfortunately, all these years has been concealed behind a veil of sacrosanctity.

GOVERNOR OF CENTRAL BANK CITES DROP IN INFLATION

Accra GHANIAN TIMES in English 7 Sep 84 pp 1, 3

[Article by Francis Kokutse]

[Text] Mr John S. Addo, Governor of the Bank of Ghana, announced yesterday that the rate of inflation in the country had dropped from 120 per cent to 35 per cent.

Mr Addo attributed this drop to recent measures introduced by the Government.

He did not elaborate. But briefing newsmen on the recent adjustment of the exchange rate, the Governor said the high rate of inflation was due to high government budget deficit.

These deficits could be reduced if state boards and corporations could make profits, he said, adding that the trend could be further reversed if production in the private sector was increased, since it was the only way in which government revenue could be increased.

He said the exchange rate adjustment was part of attempts aimed at improving the economy. It was also an attempt to keep abreast with the world economy.

However, he noted, the adjustment alone was not enough because of the extent of damage that had been done to the country's economy in the past.

"We are not adjusting the exchange rates and then fold our hands. We are also looking at price controls which do not encourage production", he said.

Mr Addo was of the view that without price controls, producers would increase their output, and thereby bring down prices in the long run.

He cited the example of some farmers who cut down their cocoa trees to go into crop farming because the price of cocoa was low.

Mr Addo said for a long time--between 1970 and 1978--the exchange rate was not touched, remarking that "between this period a lot happened".

He observed that in most countries, exchange rate adjustments were a daily affair and therefore never surprised anyone when they are announced.

The Governor agreed with a questioner that prices of imported goods were bound to rise with the new adjustment, making it clear that the Government had no funds anywhere to subsidize prices.

He spoke of benefits expected from the adjustments mentioning the timber and mining industries as those sectors likely to benefit most.

Mr Addo said before the adjustment, it was not profitable to export timber and the gold mines were not making enough to recover their production costs in cedis because the "currency rate has been depressed.

CSO: 3400/15

EXPLOITATION OF FARMERS BY MARKET WOMEN DISCUSSED

Editorial on Issue

Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 30 Aug 84 p 2

[Editorial: "The 'Queens' at the Markets"]

[Text] The Ashanti Regional Secretary is not happy about the prevailing high prices of foodstuff and vegetables in Kumasi. High prices of foodstuff at this time of bumper harvest should really make no sense to anybody. In his opinion, market women in the urban areas are responsible for this unfortunate situation.

Market women, we agree to some extent, are contributing to unreasonable prices of foodstuff. But specifically, we take this opportunity to draw attention to a notorious group called Market Queens who have always been the major cause of the unreasonably high prices of foodstuff, bumper harvest or no bumper harvest. Yet another cause of this situation can be attributed to high fares charged by drivers in the country.

There are two categories of market queens in the system. The first group consists of those who have large sums of money and who travel to the farm-gates to buy from the farmers. The other group of market queens, who are more parasitic, operate in the markets only. They deal in almost everything edible from the farm.

The first group capitalizes on the poor financial standing of the farmers, buys their produce at very cheap prices and send them to the urban areas to sell at fantastic prices as if it had it from middlemen. The way and manner those in the second category operate is more exploitative. They prevent farmers who manage to bring their foodstuffs to the markets from selling direct to retailers or customers unless they sell it through them.

The unfortunate thing is that most of the farmers get to the market without any money, having spent all they have to pay for their fares. So they are forced to surrender to the dictates of those market queens.

The most disturbing is that most of the members of this group do not have any capital with which to operate. What they do is that after bargaining with the

farmer, they collect far higher sums of money than what they have bargained for, take their profit and then pay for the foodstuff in bulk to distribute to the retailers. This has been the practice by the market queens over the years, and it is the major cause of high foodstuff prices in the urban areas.

Legally, they don't have any right to stop farmers or anybody from selling at the markets. It is, therefore, unlawful for a few people to monopolize the markets to the detriment of the whole population.

Firstly, we are convinced that the exploitative activities of these women can be stopped. What is needed now is a united front of the farmers and the retailers to oppose and drive out of the markets the market queens because from their activities it is obvious that they are selfish and greedy hounds who are not prepared to earn honest money.

Secondly, farmers in the country should take seriously, the idea of co-operative farming, which we have had occasions to recommend in this column, because it is the surest way through which they can produce more and market their produce without exploitation.

On the question of high fares, the drivers must be blamed for their desire to make quick money at the least opportunity. They often complain of high cost of spare parts or, even sometimes, their non-availability. But this is untenable because they have sufficiently proved that even when these parts are made available to them at lower prices they still charge exorbitant fares. Besides, spare parts and tyres which they use as excuse for high fares are not items that are bought everyday.

Much as we concede that drivers, like any other group of people who provide services to the public have their peculiar problems, we do not think that this should be enough excuse to justify their conduct.

They must appreciate that the nation is going through a reconstruction process and it is now time for everyone to make a sacrifice. The economy is weak. Notwithstanding, Government is making every effort to keep the nation moving by providing essential inputs at a tolerable level. For example, the Ministry of Transport and Communications has just brought in £1.4 billion worth of spare parts for distribution through drivers unions and other representative bodies. And vehicle owners and drivers therefore, have no jurisdiction to charge unreasonable fares.

Boycott by Market Women

Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 14 Sep 84 p 8

[Article by P . K. Arthur]

[Text]

THE timely intervention of cadres from the Kumasi District Defence Committee on Wednesday, saved about

2,000 crates of tomatoes worth about C200,000 from going bad when market queens from the Kumasi

Central Market and Kejetia prevented the farmers from selling their produce direct to customers.

Numbering about 3,000 the farmers from Sabronum and Ahwerewan in the Tapa district accused the queens of extorting ₵100 on each box of tomatoes in addition to ten tomatoes on each box from them any time they arrived.

The queens allegedly explained that the ten tomatoes were for some big men in the city and the ₵100 for their own expenses.

Embargo

Not satisfied with the explanation, the farmers petitioned the DDC but the queens did not take kindly to this and therefore placed an embargo on all tomatoes coming from Sabronum and Ahwerewan.

The queens allegedly further threatened their members of expulsion from the markets or ₵3,000 fine if they bought tomatoes from farmers of the two towns.

Meanwhile the Investigations Department of the DDC has invited the queens for questioning and have as well warned other people who have styled themselves as queens in all sectors to desist from such activities.

Women's Role in Economy

Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 14 Sep 84 p 8

[Excerpt]

THE Secretary of the Ashanti Region branch of the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD), Mrs Agnes Afriyie-Amankwa, has stressed the need for the formation of a more productive women's co-operative organization to move women gradually from the distributive

sector into the productive sector of the economy.

She said with the objectives of the national economic growth based on expanded production, women were expected to play a more effective role to make Ghana economically independent.

Mrs Amankwa was speaking at a one-week seminar for women producers, farmers and market women.

"To justify the need for women's co-operative organizations and their merit for governmental support, the role of women in other areas of development, notably education, health, nutrition, agriculture, trading, religion and culture, need to be tackled first," she stated.

Mr F. A. Jantuah, Ashanti Regional Secretary, who was guest of honour at the function, said the government was convinced that women could play meaningful roles in the nation building programme and advocated the formation of larger co-operative societies to enable them to expand their productive ventures.

ALTERNATIVES CONSIDERED FOR UNIVERSITY FINANCING

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 22 Aug 84 p 2

[Editorial: "A Call to Debate"]

[Text]

THE difficulties of the country's economy have not left the Universities untouched. Their primary consequence has been that since the early 1970s, the full needs of the Universities have never been met, and they have starved in terms of both local currency and foreign exchange needs.

It is within this framework, coupled with a deteriorated infrastructure, that the country's three Universities have successfully completed a crash academic year, turned out new graduates; and now prepare to begin another year.

The stark truth as their re-opening comes up again, however is that we cannot continue as we have been doing.

This year, it seems likely that money for the Universities will be very difficult to find. And if and when it is found, it will be a tight squeeze.

The 'GRAPHIC' therefore believes that the time is ripe to raise the age-old question — a question which arouses many an emotional response: Can the over-stretched public treasury continue to finance the Universities, whilst they themselves make no impact or effort to help look after themselves?

The 'GRAPHIC' invites the public to approach this problem. We on this paper believe that one of the following three ways are opened to the country.

First, to continue as we have been doing without changes, secondly, to ask students to pay for their board and lodging in consonance with the recommendations of various education commissions, and thirdly, to begin a process of transforming the Universities so that they begin to use their tremendous human and material resources to help look after themselves.

The first method has within it, the seeds of collapse. Indeed it has more than seeds within it. The seeds are now a tree and the collapse of the Universities as they are presently run is imminent. This option then is a false road.

The second option requires more attention. It seems like a solution, but it has various pitfalls. In any case, it cannot be taken as an isolated step since it is only a fraction of the problem of cost. The cost of tuition per student is at least C53,000. The cost of board and lodging (i.e. food etc.) is around C14,000. If students are asked to bear part of this cost, i.e. the C14,000 component, we run into a problem.

Where is the C14,000 (the figure may increase with time) coming from? Is it coming from the banks? Do the banks have money? If they do, can the students carry the debt burden after school on present salaries? More important, is this the time to sweep off what little is left of the principle of free education?

The third option also has its problems. It requires boldness, confidence and tremendous political will which the PNDC has shown to have.

This option will ensure that each University will feed itself almost exclusively from the lands around it, and from its agricultural stations using the labour of some of its workers on a redeployed basis, whilst students assist at week-ends and other times.

The 'GRAPHIC' believes that a labour force of 3,000-4,000 in the University of Ghana alone helping permanent farm workers at planting and harvest time to tend the 84 hectares of land lying around it can turn out enough beans, fruits, vegetables, maize, fish and milk, cheese and yoghurt to feed the whole University community, as well as surrounding communities.

But then, there are obstacles. Opposition to the idea will come because they will change the Universities and make students and lecturers productive intellectuals, rather than producers of intellectual ideas.

Above all, opposition to it will come because it challenges the idea of the University as a place where manual labour is for other people, not the sons and daughters, "the wisest and choicest of the cream of society", who pass through the ivory gates.

The 'GRAPHIC' invites the public to debate these issues. At stake is the future of the country and the bright opportunity to turn the Universities and indeed the country around to the path of progress, peace and social justice.

The only other way left leads to stagnation. The general public must take part in the debate alongside the NUGS, TUC, UTAG, WDCs and members of the University Community.

Let the palaver begin — in reasoned language.

ITALIAN COOPERATION DETAILED

Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 24 Aug 84 p 8

[Article by Eleanor Amandor and A. A. Jungudo]

[Text] THE Italian Ambassador, Mr Luigi Durante, said yesterday that his government had decided to help re-condition the Accra-Tema water pipe-line as its contribution towards solving some of Ghana's problems.

Italy will also help in agricultural, fishing, heavy transport and hydro-electricity projects.

Mr Durante, who disclosed this during a courtesy call on the Secretary for Culture and Tourism, Dr Mohammed Abdallah, said many Italian companies were willing to invest in the tourist sector.

The Ambassador who has been in the country for two months, remarked that a country's cultural heritage was important in ensuring its progress.

Replying, Dr Abdallah said despite problems militating against the economic and cultural development of the country, Ghanaians were trying to maintain their dignity both within and outside the country.

He observed also that though Ghana and Italy had not signed any cultural agreement, there was mutual co-operation between the two countries.

He cited the example of a technical co-operation agreement under which Ghanaians were awarded Italian Government scholarships to study hotel management in Italy.

The Secretary hoped the Italian Embassy would also join other international organizations in renovating the hotels in the country.

CSO: 3400/15

BRIEFS

TEACHER EXCHANGE WITH MOSCOW--Ghana and the USSR have completed arrangements by which the Ghana Co-operative College and the Pedagogical Training Department of Soviet Union Co-operative Institute in Moscow, will exchange teachers. Disclosing this to me here yesterday, Dr F. P. Jantuah, leader of a delegation from the Ghana Co-operative College which toured the USSR recently, said tutors of the Ghana Co-operative College would undergo a three-month course in Psychology, Adult Education and Political Economy. [Text] [By Robert Bentil] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 25 Aug 84 p 3]

CSO: 3400/15

GOVERNMENT DISSATISFIED WITH USSR FISHING AGREEMENTS

Lisbon A TARDE in Portuguese 4 Sep 84 pp 12, 13

[Text] A Guinea-Bissau government source disclosed that President Nino Vieira has decided to cancel the fishing agreements with the Soviet Union because it is fishing with a larger number of vessels than the number of permits granted to it.

To implement a basic fishing agreement already signed will be the purpose of the trip to be made by the state secretary of fishing to Bissau from 12 to 17 October.

The Guinean fishing secretary, Luis Sanca, who returned from a trip to China, told NP [Portugal News service] in Bissau that "there has not yet been an opportunity for Portugal and Guinea-Bissau to actually implement the agreement that has been signed," and that "it is time for us to implement it."

The fishing secretary of Guinea revealed that his visit to China had resulted in the signing of a bilateral agreement that will allow for the granting of four fishing permits to the Chinese who, for their part, will build six 100-ton vessels in Bissau to be used for local fishing and the Guinean fleet.

The Chinese vessels should start fishing in the Guinean EEZ [Exclusive Economic Zone] starting in May of next year, a time when the boats for the Bissau fishing fleet will begin to be constructed. China will finance that construction with a long-term loan that will not start to be paid off until the six vessels begin fishing and accruing results from their work.

The announcement of Faria dos Santos' visit, made at the invitation of his Guinean counterpart, comes at a time when rumors are circulating in Bissau's economic area regarding serious differences between the Guinean authorities and the Soviets in the realm of fishing.

A government source who requested anonymity told NP that President Nino Vieira, who is currently on vacation in Yugoslavia, has decided to cancel the fishing agreements that exist between Guinea-Bissau and the Soviet Union.

The same source disclosed that the reasons for the position of the Guinean president consist of the fact that, on more than one occasion , the Soviets have been caught in Bissau's EEZ fishing with a larger number of ships than the number of permits granted to them.

Sources from other mixed enterprises operating in Bissau were unanimous in admitting to NP that the Soviets' fishing effort in Guinean waters far exceeds what they are legitimately entitled to expend, and that the compensation owed to the Guinean government is insignificant.

The aforementioned government source said that Bissau would greatly favor the replacement of the Soviets by the Portuguese in the fishing area, but that Portugal has been unable to respond, on the level of its own private enterprise, to the opportunities that Guinean waters and permits offer.

2909

CSO: 3442/484

MNR STRENGTHS, POPULAR DISILLUSIONMENT WITH FRELIMO RECOUNTED

London AFRICAN CONFIDENTIAL in English 19 Sep 84 Vol 25 No 19, pp 4, 5, 6

[Text] During the past few weeks the Mozambican army has conducted a large-scale operation to clear Gaza and Inhambane provinces of anti-government Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana (MNR) guerrillas. Despite a serious split within the ruling FRELIMO party, President Samora Machel's government might be willing to reach a negotiated settlement with the MNR in the south of the country. He is under increasing pressure to do so. The MNR, possibly with continued assistance from South Africa, has made a series of sophisticated commando-style raids in the Maputo vicinity. About half the country remains liable to guerrilla attack and FRELIMO reprisal.

But the situation is extremely muddled, for a number of reasons:

--Following the signing of the Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique in March, South Africa was meant to cut off support for the MNR. However, South African Military Intelligence (SAMI), which has handled the MNR since 1979 (AC Vol 23 No 15), was clearly reluctant to see the MNR decline significantly as a threat to Machel's socialist FRELIMO. By the beginning of this year it was evident to the South African military establishment that Prime Minister P.W. Botha wanted an agreement with Mozambique. SAMI therefore organised an operation to stock up the MNR with military equipment--enough probably for two years of guerrilla activity in half the country. Malawi might have been used for some resupply; Israeli assistance cannot be discounted.

Continued pressure on FRELIMO and Machel to ostracize pro-Soviet hardliners is obviously seen by the South African government (its security services above all) as advantageous to South Africa, and far more important, in the longer-run, than the economic benefits South Africa stands to gain in the short-term from trade with Mozambique. (South African companies, notably Anglo American Corporation, have several potential projects there, including a much-needed overhaul of Maputo port; tourist operators have ambitious plans to develop Inhaca Island and Bela Vista near Maputo, and the Isla da Sta Caterina near Vilankulo on the northern Inhambane coast--a region hit by a sharp escalation of fighting earlier this year).

South African troops have been in Mozambique for several months, ostensibly to deter the MNR from attacking the power line from the Cabora Bassa in Tete Province. At one stage South African troops were on the limit with Zimbabwe has also given clearance for South African troops to enter Manica Province from Mutale.

--FRELIMO is split, politically and militarily (AC Vol 25 No 16). The army, apart from reflecting the usual ideological differences, is divided broadly into those still being trained in conventional warfare and heavy weaponry and those who have reverted to FRELIMO's pre-independence strategy of guerrilla warfare. The Soviet-run Nampula military academy, for example, includes a lot of standard Warsaw Pact infantry training. Mozambican soldiers are taught how to operate border fencing with swept sand strips, mines, constant armed patrol and probably other paraphernalia also used on the European 'Iron Curtain' between East and West Germany.

--Samora Machel appears to lack confidence in the ability or wish of Mozambican security to inform him reliably of MNR-connected matters. The Mozambican security service, plagued by lack of qualified people, has been hit badly by defections (AC Vol 23 No 13) and the political argument in Maputo over whether the security service should be a 'secret' service or 'accountable to the masses.' Thus Machel's office has had to make direct enquiries with overseas third parties about the MNR. It appears that Machel has poor access to information not only about current activity but also about the history of the MNR.

- The senior ranks of the MNR's political and military wings are unclear. Though **Alfonso Dhakama** remains MNR 'president' and supreme commander, the MNR does not appear to have anything representing a high command. The MNR secretary-general is the Goanese businessman, **Evo Fernandez**, whose previous position as information secretary appears to have been taken over by another. **Jorge Correia**, a Portuguese with close links to the Portuguese press, meanwhile acts as the MNR's European spokesman and the movement's only regular mouthpiece.

Apart from being anti-communist and hence anti-Frelimo, the MNR has never had a significant political strategy for a post-Frelimo government. Its broad aim is to control the countryside, encircling all major towns and holding the economy to ransom prior to forcing Frelimo to capitulate. The MNR would then establish a provisional government - perhaps for at least two years - which would purge the administration of Frelimo leaders, communists and pro-Soviet elements, and draw up a new multi-party constitution for civilian rule.

This year's high-level changes in Frelimo's personalities and policies, and the resultant split, has somewhat undermined the MNR's platform: Mozambique under Machel is set to join the IMF, *World Bank* and the Lomé convention; western investment is awaited with unduly high expectation; and central economic planning is being whittled down. Indeed, the moribund state farms of the Limpopo valley are expected soon to be placed under the management of *Lonrho*, the multinational company headed by **Tiny Rowland**.

- The possibility for negotiation in the near future is most uncertain. Correia claims that low-key talks were held in Europe in July between MNR representatives and Frelimo's economic adviser, **Jacinto Veloso**. Talks held in Pretoria last month between Frelimo and South African representatives failed to make any progress. South Africa had organised an MNR delegation to be on hand in Pretoria if the talks with the Mozambicans looked forthcoming. Shortly afterwards South African companies were reportedly refused permission to partake in a trade event in Maputo. The MNR is willing in

principle to talk with *Frelimo*, though probably not in the short-term. The hardline faction within *Frelimo*, which includes Armando Guebuza, is against any talks with the MNR. The only offer made by *Frelimo* - as a result of the Nkomati Accord - is an amnesty for guerrillas wishing to surrender. None appears to have surrendered yet. Hardliners in *Frelimo* were against any amnesty. Machel is loathe to negotiate from a position of weakness.

However, there is little prospect that a settlement made in Maputo between the MNR and *Frelimo* would have a decisive effect north of the river Save. People are too disillusioned with *Frelimo*, especially in the north, where the new generation of subsistence farmers, neglected by official development policy, deprived of food, agricultural inputs and incentives to market their crops, have turned to arms in much the same way their fathers became *Frelimo* fighters against colonial rule.

Many MNR commanders are former *Frelimo* cadres who still have well-placed friends in *Frelimo*. The MNR consistently obtains information about personnel, arms and food movements throughout the country. The ambush and sabotage success rate is high. In the region of Guro, in northern Manica, the monthly Beira to Tete convoy of supplies is almost invariably attacked. The capture and use of *Frelimo* arms and uniforms makes it impossible to tell the difference between *Frelimo* troops and the guerrillas. In the north, the MNR is using former *Frelimo* bases and supply routes through the bush.

An MNR group in the fertile district of Angonia, in the north of Tete province, certainly receives widespread popular support. Zimbabwean convoys of trucks returning from Malawi are frequently attacked, despite the presence on all convoys of Zimbabwean army units. And Angonia's food surplus is diverted to the black markets of Zambia, and Malawi - a process involving close cooperation between the MNR and the locals. Another MNR group operates in Chiuta district of Tete, periodically overrunning the administrative centre and preventing delivery of food supplies. Until earlier this year a group operated close to Cabora Bassa. The Cabora Bassa road was cut briefly and the electricity sub-station 18km outside the town threatened. In May a *Frelimo* ambush reportedly captured most of the guerrillas while they were drinking at the village of Mufa.

Frelimo's military successes in Tete are rare. Peasants there, while not actually joining the guerrillas, are almost irretrievably disillusioned with *Frelimo*. The province is practically void of all government services. Forced villagisation, as elsewhere in the country, has been a disaster for both *Frelimo* and the villagers. For example, in 1982 *Frelimo* destroyed



two villages on the Songo plateau near Cabora Bassa to make way for a dam-workers' housing complex. The residents were forced to settle on poor soils to the south, where they have since suffered a catastrophic drought.

Conflict continues in Nampula, Sofala and to a lesser extent in Zambezia provinces, and the MNR has opened up new fronts in Niassa and Cabo Delgado provinces, both as remote as Tete, though neither have a drought. In Niassa, *Frelimo*'s 're-education camps' hold people in appalling conditions of hunger and disease. Designed as resettlement schemes for unemployed people and petty criminals rounded up in last year's 'Operation Production', the camps and the whole operation came under attack at *Frelimo*'s central committee meeting in April (AC Vol 25 No 16). However, the hardliners

in *Frelimo* still have some say, and are reluctant to ditch completely the 'resettlement' idea. The exercise has been as much a boost to the MNR as forced villagisation.

Frelimo is particularly anxious to retain the loyalty of the Makonde tribe in Cabo Delgado. The province's border with **Tanzania** is the only frontier free of guerrilla infiltration. Before the unification of *Frelimo* in the early 1960s, there was a strong move for the secession of Cabo Delgado, which has a tradition of popular resistance. During the independence war the Makonde were renowned as tough fighters. But it will be hard for *Frelimo* to win back popular support there: as in other provinces, disaffection with *Frelimo* is deep. If a settlement is reached with the MNR in the south of the country, it can be assumed that guerrillas will still block communications with the north, where resistance could easily develop into secessionism.

In Manica province large areas of hills to the north and south of Chimoio, the provincial capital, are inaccessible to *Frelimo*. Relief aid for drought victims cannot be distributed. A *Frelimo* offensive there appears to have started recently. The flow of refugees from the province seeking safety and food in Zimbabwe is likely to increase significantly again. Officially there are about 60,000 Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe, though in fact there are closer to 45,000. (There are four camps: Tongorara, Inyangombe (only 1,000), Mazowe and Nyamapikiti). Earlier this year Mozambicans who had found casual work in the broader areas of Zimbabwe were rounded up and sent to the camps. Zimbabwean security reckons there are several hundred guerrillas among the refugees.

Distribution of relief aid in Mozambique is an obvious means of gaining popularity. The MNR says that it is willing to cooperate with any relief organisation that is neutral. By distributing food aid, the MNR could certainly spread its influence in areas where *Frelimo*'s control is already marginal.

Last year an official from the *International Red Cross* (ICRC) went to Maputo with the proposal that ICRC operate throughout Mozambique as a neutral organisation. Machel rebutted the suggestion, saying that ICRC had refused to do precisely this during the independence war. Then in northern Inhambane at Macovane in March this year the MNR heavily strafed a German *Red Cross* food truck shortly after a delegation of *Red Cross* and other aid officials had reached the relief centre there. After heavy fighting in which a grain truck carrying *Frelimo* troops was attacked, all roads to the relief centre were cut. The aid officials fled cautiously

along bush tracks to safe *Frelimo* territory on the coast. The German *Red Cross* and other agencies withdrew from the area as a result. The Mozambique *Red Cross* believed the incident was an attempt by the MNR to force Machel to recognise the ICRC as a neutral agency. The Geneva-based ICRC delegate again visited Maputo in vain.

That the MNR has good intelligence and reasonable communications is beyond doubt. The split in *Frelimo*, in which Machel has sided against the hardliners, will almost certainly provide the MNR with more covert sympathisers within *Frelimo*'s security apparatus. The MNR claims - for public consumption at least - that despite *Frelimo*'s split, Machel remains under the sway of hardline Marxists and the KGB, and that recent policy shifts to the right are temporary - comparable to **Stalin's** New Economic Policy in the 1920s.

However, Machel remains a popular figure - far more so than anybody else in *Frelimo*. He appears to believe genuinely in the demerits of past *Frelimo* policy. But he cannot expect to bring the hardliners to heel in the near future. He does not have the means to do so: the country is in such a state of economic devastation, the security apparatus so disorganised and demoralised that the eight-year civil war is bound to continue for some time. Machel's June trip to **North Korea** was apparently to enquire about the possibility of North Koreans training something akin to the Zimbabwean Fifth Brigade, a notoriously unsatisfactory brigade which the Zimbabwean government has decided to retrain (AC Vol 25 No 18). Deploying the army, especially any North Korean-training units, against 'disloyal' populations, will merely prolong the war ●

POLITICAL COMMISSARS SPEAK OF ROLE WITHIN ARMY

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 10 Sep 84 p 2

[Text] "Where politics does not enter in, the bullet easily penetrates." This was how the political commissar of the Second Battalion of the Sixth Tank Brigade stationed in Waimbela, Francisco Samo, during the visit that a team of reporters made to that section of Moamba District, briefly summarized the great mission that the political commissars must carry out in mobilizing and raising the level of consciousness of the military.

Addressing the news media, political commissar Francisco Samo explained his activities in the Army and his participation in civilian activity, for the benefit of the population, based on the opportunities that his military duties afford him.

"Our current task consists of mobilizing the population, primarily the victims of the armed bandits. So, we are mobilizing the people for their organization into communal villages, as a means of ensuring their defense.

"Moreover, the Popular Forces are participating jointly with the population in the building of residences in the communal villages, not to mention the food contribution that we always make.

"At present, we have already succeeded in organizing some families in the village adjoining the Project F02 sub-unit, an activity that will continue until they have been totally integrated."

There is no dearth of problems in this integration; because it is not always possible to evacuate the families with all their possessions; and, in this connection, political commissar Francisco Samo observed:

"At first, the people came without food, because of their hasty departure, and to deal with the issue we contacted members of the local Mobilizing Groups. In coordination with them, we appealed to the district, which provided us with corn that was later distributed among the population."

Since the amount of corn was not sufficient, the military unit stationed there participated, giving another 100 bags of corn, which will also be distributed.

Heightening Morale

We were told by that commissar that, "The morale of our military is high, because they have been given political courses for their training, both for soldiers and for officers.

"We talk to our soldiers so that they will understand why they left their homes and families to gather in the jungle and fight the enemy; we explain who the enemy that we are fighting is and all the other matters associated with this situation."

As a result of the mobilization, Francisco Samo says that the increasing number of volunteer militiamen showing up to receive military training is obvious proof that the work of the political commissars is productive.

"For example, in the F02 Project, we had a considerable number of workers receiving politico-military training, and others were already trained to guarantee the self-defense of the production unit. In the communal village of Chelene, the population requested weapons with which to defend themselves from the armed bandits; something that will soon be accomplished."

The bond between the people and the FPLM is another very important factor for the success of the military operations, particularly in this offensive marking 25 September.

In another talk that we had with the political commissar of the F02 Project Production Unit, he cited the type of barbarous actions committed by the armed bandits.

Paulo Jose Aidane said that in the camps which our forces destroy, they find various kinds of ordnance, and in the knapsacks seized from the captured bandits hashish is often found, as well as various household items that they have stolen from the population.

In commenting on the FPLM's support for the people, Jose Aidane claimed that there is an Army effort, in cooperation with the Moamba District administration, to provide a vehicle that will help the population to evacuate its possessions from the affected zones to the communal village.

2909

CSO: 3442/494

MEDICAL TECHNICIANS' COURSE FOR FIVE PROVINCES

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 24 Aug 84 p 2

[Excerpt] On 1 August, the Nampula Institute of Health Sciences (ICSN) began a course for intermediate-level medical technicians who will have to provide for the clinical section of the district and local health centers in which there have been no physicians. At the conclusion of the 3-year course, those students will be trained to practice preventive and remedial medicine, nursing, and educational and administrative duties in the health areas.

The course started with 19 students (it has slots for 24), coming from the provinces of Niassa, Tete, Zambezia, Nampula, and Maputo, who were nominated by the Ministries of Education, Health and Defense. The average age of the students is 22 years and they have ninth grade schooling. With the exception of one, who is already a medical agent, the others have had no technical experience in this field, because they performed only bureaucratic functions in their ministries.

The theoretical courses will be given at the institute, and the practice will take place at the Nampula Central Hospital. Also scheduled is a rural apprenticeship during the last semester, so as to better integrate the student into the environment in which he will be working.

New Attitude

This is the first time that Nampula has had a course of this kind, like the one already given in Maputo and Lichinga. According to the director of the ICSN, Rui Gama, the reasons that prompted the choice of Nampula were the glut of apprenticeship areas in Maputo and the presence of human resources on the institute level. Another contributing factor was the lack of technical personnel in the other provinces, in which it would have been ideal to hold the course, because that is where the students could live close to the health problems that they will be confronting, particularly when they take their apprenticeship in the rural environment.

The director of the course, Laurinda Queiros, claims that it is based on a new attitude in the health field, consistent with guidance from the World Health Organization, namely, to ensure the implementation of primary health care in areas where there is no assistance for the population. The director commented: "This profession exists in many African countries."

In addition to the one for medical technicians, the ICSN has already given courses in nursing, for medical agents, in mother and child health and in dentistry and stomatology, all on the intermediate level. The new course is experimental in nature, and if it is established as ideal from the standpoint of the program and the training of instructors, it might become permanent.

Laurinda Queiros explained that the institute is still seeking that ideal training. She maintains: "We have a certain amount of freedom for making instructional revisions, and we shall try to be creative, both on the program level and that of method."

Subjects

In the training portion, the following subjects will be offered: nursing and basic sciences, community health, political training, professional deontology (ethics), general pathology, microbiology, pharmacology, semiology, medical clinic, surgical clinic, pediatric clinic, gynecology and obstetrics.

Those subjects are intended to meet the needs of the health technicians' practice in the rural communities. All of them will be followed up by a practical apprenticeship, and the evaluation of that apprenticeship will be a preponderant factor for the student to pass the course. They will be constantly evaluated during the course, with individual checking records. The director comments: "So, we think that we shall be able to inform the ministry, at the conclusion, of the profile of each future technician who will be assuming this responsibility."

Difficulties

The ICSN is facing some difficulties in giving the course based on its requirements. The main one is the overload of work for the physicians, who already have many tasks at the central hospital and who also give instruction in the institute's other courses.

According to Rui Gama the ideal would be to have full-time instructors, but this is impossible at present. "We are attempting to divide the work of those instructor-physicians, by reducing less important instruction in the other courses."

There are difficulties in procuring diversified meals for the students, who are residing in boarding quarters, and there is a lack of transportation for those who are located farther away, such as those housed in facilities of the psychiatric hospital. The institute's storage tank does not always have fuel to accommodate them. The director expresses regret: "When this occurs, they have to shift for themselves." Another serious problem is the facilities.

2909

CSO: 3442/484

SEVEN BOATS TO BE RESTORED TO IMPROVE TRANSPORTATION

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 10 Aug 84 p 15

[Text] Between the last half of this year and the first half of next year, the maritime and river transportation fleet will raise its capacity for passenger and freight transportation facilities as a result of an intense effort to rehabilitate six vessels currently under way in Beira.

The action is aimed at addressing the real, present problems that have recently cropped up in the area of transportation; and it is realized now that, with this new activity to rehabilitate the boats in question, the situation will improve.

The boats now being rehabilitated will benefit not only the central part of the country, but also some areas of Inhambane Province.

Specifically, the boats involved will benefit passenger transportation from Beira, Buzi, Machanga and other districts of Sofala. Regular trips will also be made to Vilankulo, Mambone and other points.

DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE learned that the activity to totally rehabilitate the maritime fleet, which has been at a standstill for several years, for various reasons, started in April of this year beginning in Praia-Nova.

At present, based on reports provided by some foremen associated with the repair work on these transportation facilities, four of these boats are in a rather advanced stage of repair; and it is known now that they may resume sailing by October of this year.

According to the respective foremen, the other two will be sailing again by the first half of next year. The repair and rehabilitation work on the maritime fleet is being done not only by the workers from the Maritime and River Transportation Enterprise of Beira, but also by other workers associated with each of the boats currently being repaired.

In order to ensure the success of this activity, the necessary conditions have been created for this purpose, noteworthy among which is the purchase of new engines in France, as well as maritime paint, nails, plywood and other materials required for rehabilitating the vessels themselves.

It should be noted that, at present, the maritime and river transportation fleet of Beira has only three passenger vessels. The action to resume the sailing of four more this year will minimize the shortage.

By next year, there is also the prospect that the number of boats to be repaired will increase. Mention should be made of the fact that the boats to be put afloat this year are the "Patria," "Divinhe," "Rio Mondego" and "Chiloane"; and it has been learned from shipyard sources that the vessels "Save" and "Suzana" will not be able to sail again until the first half of next year, because the work on their repair is still in an embryonic phase.

2909

CSO: 3442/484

IRRIGATION TECHNICIANS TRAINED IN INHAMBANE PROVINCE

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 10 Sep 84 p 8

[Text] The second national course for irrigation and erosion control technicians given by a Brazilian agronomical engineer, in which 10 persons participated, ended recently in Chinjinguir, in the Homoine District of Inhambane Province.

The participants are students recently trained at the Inhamussua Basic Agrarian School, workers from the Provincial Cotton Enterprise and members of some agricultural production cooperatives in Homoine.

According to the Brazilian technician, the course took place satisfactorily despite the fact that those involved had heterogeneous basic knowledge, since their level of schooling ranged between the fourth and ninth grades. That Brazilian cooperant said that the results of the tests taken by the students, both theoretical and practical, indicate that the technicians now trained are prepared to perform good work in the future.

One of the problems affecting the normal course of the work in the aforementioned course was the fact that the students taking the course lived far away from the premises in which it was given. The Brazilian engineer noted also that only with practical work will the newly trained technicians be able to serve effectively as cadres, with the ability to convey basic agronomical techniques to the population.

The director of the Provincial Cotton Enterprise in Inhambane, who attended the closing of the course, made brief comments, remarking that, in order to carry out the protection against erosion, the Chinjinguir production unit needs a tractor, which would actually improve the work system. However, he cited the lack of fuel as the main problem hampering the execution of this work.

Officiating at the closing session of this course was the secretary of the party's provincial committee for economy in Inhambane; and also present on this occasion was the provincial director of education, as well as the party's first district secretary in Homoine.

2909

CSO: 3442/494

WAIMBELA BRIGADE COMMANDER ON COMBAT AGAINST BANDITS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 6 Sep 84 p 3

[Text] Domingos Dickson Branco, commander of the Second Battalion of the Sixth Tank Brigade, stationed in Waimbela, in the district of Moamba, claims: "The armed bandits will be eliminated, just as Portuguese colonialism was eliminated in the struggle for national liberation, and Smith's forces were defeated when the Republic of Zimbabwe came into existence. The bandits will be expelled from our country and peace will return to Mozambique again."

Dickson spoke in an interview that he recently granted to the national news media which visited the locality of Waimbela a short time ago to learn about the military activities being carried out in connection with the military offensive marking the 20th anniversary of the start of the armed struggle.

He began by saying: "At the first of the year, the armed bandits intensified their acts of sabotage against economic targets and the assassinations of the defenseless population; but, as soon as we arrived there, we started operations, and although it has not always been easy, at the present time the situation is satisfactory."

Commander Dickson also claimed, there was no lack of difficulties at the beginning because we were not familiar with the area in which they were operating. But with the help of the population which informed us of all their movements, the first offensive and it was very successful; with this occasion, the armed bandits were not familiar with the area.

He continued: "When the bandits heard the roar of the moving tanks, they immediately fled leaving on the site a great deal of ordnance, including weapons, ammunition and possessions of the population that they had stolen."

The subject of our interview then explained that, in addition to not being familiar with the area, our forces had difficulty in operating because the armed bandits had abducted many people; and hence there was a risk of their killing innocent people. "However, after the offensive that we launched in the direction of Mangoluanene, that same population also participated in the capture of the bandits and turned them over to the FPLM."

Scattered Focal Points

At present, there are only a few focal points wherein operations are aimed primarily against economic targets, attacking the defenseless population and not daring to confront the Popular Forces.

Commander Dickson Branco added: "When they attempt some direct action against the Popular Forces, they do it by setting mines, which are put out of commission by the tanks, without causing damage; and hence the operations to pursue and annihilate the enemy are continuing."

He then stressed the fact that in this area the enemy has no fixed zones, moving constantly; and the commander expressed his confidence in the final routing of the criminals.

Commander Dickson also remarked: "Any attempt against our country, whoever may direct it, whether it be a powerful enemy or not, will be crushed; and the enemy and its bosses, the imperialists, will never succeed in winning. In the case of the armed bandits, if they want to stay alive, they must surrender to our forces; otherwise, they will be pursued until they have been totally liquidated."

High Morale

As Commander Dickson asserted, every battle is another step toward raising the morale of our soldiers.

"All the battles waged, most of them by youths, have resulted in success; because there are always exchanges of views among all our combatants. The new ones learn from the older ones, and the older ones are encouraged by the liveliness of the young ones."

Discussing the bond between the FPLM and the people, Dickson told us: "The experience from the armed struggle for national liberation has taught us that the Popular Forces have no strength if they are not allied with the people."

Subsequently, Commander Dickson discussed the activities that the FPLM have carried out in the region, helping the population to construct communal villages and engaging in other action.

In the specific instance of the locality of Waimbela, a communal village has been built which is currently inhabited for the most part by populations evacuated from the zones affected by the armed bandits.

Also, with regard to the bond between the Army and the people, Commander Dickson cited the great contribution made by the population in informing the FPLM on any enemy movement; something that has facilitated the action of our forces.

During the month of August, the Popular Forces carried out three pursuit operations and two involving ambush, according to reports from Commander Dickson who later remarked:

"After the battle of 28 August, those who managed to escape our fire scattered, and the population informed us about their movements. As a result of this, we cut off all their access routes; and hence they have been cornered."

Commander Dickson also commented on the progress of the armed action against the armed bandits.

"It is like a pot placed on the fire to boil. Therefore, we are poking the fire so that peace may be consolidated. And we shall not feel at ease until the enemy is completely evaporated from our country."

2909

CSO: 3442/494

BRIEFS

RICE FROM ALGERIA--Between 1 and 4 September, 800 tons of rice offered to our country by the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria were unloaded in the port of Maputo. According to a note from the Algerian Embassy sent to our editorial staff, this gesture is associated with "the context of the traditional fraternal relations." The note also remarks that, "Algeria, itself a victim of the drought, in taking this action has considered its unshakeable solidarity with the countries of our continent struggling to build a united Africa, directed toward the populations' progress, prosperity and welfare." On the same ship that brought this gift for our country there were 200 tons of rice, an Algerian donation to Swaziland. This commodity was also unloaded. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 11 Sep 84 p 8] 2909

BRITAIN DONATES TRUCKS--A few days ago, eight trucks were given to Mozambique by the British Government to aid in the process of distributing food, medicine and other items among the population seriously affected by the drought in Tete Province. A sizable amount of money will be used to purchase spare parts and replacements for the respective trucks. This donation was officially delivered by the British high commissioner in Zimbabwe, McEwane, and received by the governor of Tete Province, Eduardo Arao. Also present at the ceremony, among other officials, was the representative of British Leyland in Zimbabwe, and the director of the Department for Prevention and Combating of Natural Disasters, Amos Mahanjane. At the delivery ceremony which took place in the Cuchamano region near the border separating Mozambique from Zimbabwe, Governor Eduardo Arao described the British gesture as very important, particularly because Tete Province has for some time been faced with serious problems stemming from the drought. Reports provided to NOTICIAS also note that a sum of money will be used to purchase spare parts and replacements for the respective trucks, which will be sent directly by British Leyland of Great Britain to the Department for Prevention and Combating of Natural Disasters. Meanwhile, Amos Mahanjane disclosed that these trucks would operate primarily in the districts where the effects of the drought are serious, such as Changara, Magoe, Canora Bassa, Moatize, Mutarara and others. At the present time, there is continuing in Tete Province the process of distributing food, medicine, clothing, means of production and other items to the population struck by the drought, in at least seven districts of that region of the country. [Excerpt] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 13 Sep 84 p 8] 2909

DONATION FROM RSA RESIDENT-- The Department for Prevention and Combating of Natural Disasters has just received from the National Migratory Labor Directorate, an entity linked to the State Secretariat of Labor, a sum of 1,185.85 rands, a result of contributions from Mozambican citizens residing in the Republic of South Africa, to aid the victims of the floods. As NOTICIAS was told by a source from the Department for Prevention and Combating of Natural Disasters, this sizable donation also includes large amounts of used clothing. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 13 Sep 84 p 1] 2909

CSO: 3442/494

NAMIBIA

BRIEFS

INCOME CUT--Windhoek.--The Government service in South West Africa has decided to extend working hours and to cut subsistence allowance to officials because of the recession.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 Sep 84 p 2]

CSO: 3400/22

CONSERVATIVE PROVIDES INSIGHT INTO POLITICAL PROCESS

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Aug 84 pp 28-29

[Article by Gay Graser: "The Siege of Fortress Rosettenville"]

[Text]

THE death of Nat MPC Jimmie Hall necessitated a run for the Transvaal Provincial Council seat of Rosettenville, a constituency south of Johannesburg which does not inspire political hyperbole. It is no doubt more than a political post box but was certainly not destined for a place in the annals of South African political history.

Seven years of Nat neglect had left its mark, and shabby school buildings, broken pavements, shebeens, illegible street signs and sere and treeless parks were ample evidence of the arrogance of a party which had become complacent. The CP termed it "Fortress Rosettenville" — dwellers had grilles over front doors and no one walked the streets after dusk. The residents had become virtual prisoners in their own homes.

Once an NRP stronghold, Rosettenville indeed bore the signs of a dignified past but had changed subtly over the years. Its tree-lined streets house a pot pourri of modest yet appealing single dwellings with spacious verandahs — with the ubiquitous "re-done" oldies spoilt by aluminium awnings and tubular steel stoep supports. Whimsical art deco flats are juxtaposed with "modern" blocks of uncomplicated ugliness.

Rosettenville's economic parameters range from spectacular koppie viewsite dwellings with neat gnomed gardens and church-chime doorbells, to the sub-economic low-rental flat blocks and chicken-wire fenced houses of the Department of Community Development. There's a long queue for the latter so residents of these areas mind their P's and

Q's as far as the powers-that-be are concerned.

The last NRP seat in the Transvaal to fall to The Nats; the constituency is a curious blend of World War Two veterans, dear old ladies of genteel circumstances, the racing fraternity. There is a strong Lebanese community, many Catholics, Portuguese immigrants, ex-Rhodesians (in somewhat straitened circumstances) and many so-called "blue collar" workers. There is a community of blind people and lots of old-age pensioners.

Rosettenville could be termed an "old" constituency and is, as a result, quite traditional. There is a sense of community not found for instance in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, and the "them" and "us" syndrome is evident in conversation about the North.

After the announcement of the by-election, a somnolent populace was for three months bombarded with canvassers, politicians, posters, brochures, public meetings, newspaper reporters and general political razzamatazz. The voters were subjected to a particularly noxious three-cornered battle between the NRP, the CP and the incumbent NP. The results are known to all by now — the NP took the seat with a 1797 majority, the CP captured 30% of the votes cast and the NRP came in a dismal third with 1 300 votes.

Nobody really expected the CP to win but it did displace two political parties (the PFP and the NRP) to become the official opposition in the constituency.

Let's analyse the implications of this tussle. One can question the audacity of the CP in attempting to contest an English urban seat. It was essential that the CP shrug off the "platteland party" mantle and flex its city muscles. Moreover, deep in every conservative Afrikaner heart lay the notion that there were no real English conservatives; if there were, they would never speak up for conservatism. Rosettenville was therefore a litmus test of tangible English support.

As it turned out, most of CP support came from the English-speakers, and the young ones at that. It was the older Afrikaner who remained wedded to his old political belief. Bloed Nattes will remain Bloed Nattes, like their old UP counterparts.

Language as a divisive South African political criterion was finally buried in Rosettenville. Liberalism and conservatism are without a doubt the issues of the future.

City voters are subjected to differing influences to their country cousins. Communities in the platteland are communities in the real sense of the word. Children are privy to political discussions, they distribute newspapers, help put up posters. Politics is in the air.

In the cities however it is generally considered impolite (especially with the English) to discuss politics. A major problem for a new party like the CP is how to reach the voter with the party message.

In areas like Rosettenville, TV is king. The box is on in nearly every house every evening. As the National Party controls the box and abuses it shamelessly for its own purposes, the reader can imagine what kind of odds are ranged against the opposition. In the U.S. and Britain, opposition parties are allowed equal time on TV — by law. Not so here, as everyone knows. South Africa stands alone by all civilized standards in its abuse of this powerful medium. The SABC goes out of its way to present the opposition (especially the CP which it fears) as idiots and fanatics. Not to mention Mr Eugene Terreblanche's theatrics which were gleefully beamed both here and abroad as "typical" CP behaviour — although the man's not even a member of the Conservative Party!

This disinformation, mind you, from a party whose military wing in its early days, the Ossewabrandwag, blew up troop trains, post offices, et al. One P.W. Botha, a prominent ex-member recently

visited Delville Wood — an event quite breathtaking in its hypocrisy.

One must here pause to say thanks to the English press for their objectivity. Were it not for them, we'd have had no media exposure whatsoever. If 250 people attended a meeting, they reported that figure — unlike their Afrikaans counterparts who would add on a few hundred for a Nat meeting and deduct a hundred or so from one of ours.

The Afrikaans press' slavish and indeed embarrassing kow-towing to the NP government, its policies and doings, whether right or wrong, is a sign of its dismaying immaturity. Opposition parties are either ignored, ridiculed or blatantly lied about. Nobody in their right minds can today place any credibility in this knee-jerk obeisance which is obviously motivated by a creeping megalomania. Nat control is no longer just over the party faithful and caucuses — it is everywhere, and the Afrikaans press is a rather obvious symbol of it.

It's time for the Afrikaner to question and reject this homage which reminds one of Soviet-bloc journalism. It is an embarrassment to an intelligent people. It has spawned the newspaper celebrity, the dominee-turned-columnist, the academic-turned-reporter, all of whom have no understanding of political neutrality. They've created a narcissism which is sacrosanct.

They are neither honest nor principled and bask in a self-created aura of untouchability.

Schoolchildren were brazenly politicized — at Nat public meetings, head boys and girls were paraded on stage in school uniform and spoke in support of the NP. At Mr F.W. "Olie" de Klerk's meeting, eighty very tired children had to sit through his smarmy testimonial of the Nat candidate, waving their flags in a very desultory manner.

A newspaper pic appeared in Beeld with the Nat candidate surrounded by a bevy of Portuguese supporters. The NRP candidate later revealed that none of the NP "supporters" were either registered voters in Rosettenville nor were they even South African citizens.

Litigation was initiated by the CP against some really fancy lies in a newspaper produced by one Mr Chris Renccken; howls of laughter greeted the NP's

poster "Separate Development is Our Policy". Remarkd the NRP: "You can't sell one policy in London and Lusaka and another in Rosettenville."

An article in the Financial Mail expressed "surprise" at the CP's showing in Rosettenville. Why the surprise? White politics in South Africa has always been based on a voters perception of the world *as he sees it* - the shebeen in his back lane, the erosion of his pay packet, his fear of being swamped, the abuse of the free enterprise system, his disenchantment of politicians, and so forth. No amount of media persuasion, theoretical posturing by academic gurus, speeches by liberal business "leaders" will obfuscate this fact.

South African history proves this truism by the continued support of the National Party over the years by the vast majority of white voters. When the majority of present NP supporters realise that they are following a leader who has in effect adopted a policy to the left of the old UP, they too will desert to the right.

Mr P.W. Botha has committed political fraud with his "power sharing" policy. He was after all elected to his position on a Nat platform. To change Nat policy, he did not use party consultative machinery. He went to the country, which included PFP's and NRP's as well as Nats.

51.5% of the total white voting population said "yes", a good percentage of these obviously Non-Nats. Would Mrs Thatcher have gone to Labour and the Liberal Party to change her policy?

Would Ronald Reagan have asked the Democrats permission for a Republican policy change?

Political observers didn't give the CP a chance of even retaining its deposit in Rosettenville. In three months and starting from scratch, it accumulated 2 400 votes based solely on policy - no help from a "traditional" area, no stronghold, no network. It says a lot for the voters that they cast their votes for a policy they found acceptable - in spite of the CP being caricatured as Nazi, far right, troglodyte and full of bitter misfits.

The iconoclastic CP in Rosettenville turned out to be, in the flesh, likeable and acceptable. No wonder it is the fastest growing party in the country. There are 1 400 branches in the Transvaal alone. After 33 years, the NP could boast only 1 000 branches in the Transvaal.

Many real conservatives who remained behind in the NP after the break for whatever reasons (for some, their wives pulled them by the ear back to the comfortable and safe NP) are now getting the jitters - rumblings are being heard against the new constitution and the ramifications which didn't seem to occur to them before.

Watch the press for a wholesale exodus from the NP when Mr P.W. Botha's "reform" chickens come home to roost. ●

CSO: 3400/2199

PAPER DISCUSSES GOVERNMENT HELP TO MOZAMBIQUE

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 22 Aug 84 p 5

/Article: "Supplies Allegedly Sent to Cahora by Way of Zimbabwe: Government Gives Aid to Mozambican Communists"/

/Text/ The South African Government has already begun to lend aid to the Mozambican Government for the protection of the Cahora Bassa power line.

According to a statement by the Department of Foreign Affairs, this aid consists of medical supplies, food rations, vehicles and other "logistical support."

In the statement, reference was made to a speech given on 18 May by the Minister of Defense, Gen Magnus Malan, to the House of Assembly in which he said "there is nothing wrong with providing the guards of the Cahora Bassa power line with medical supplies, food rations, vehicles and other logistical support." In the same speech, General Malan said that South Africa cannot be expected to provide Mozambique with weapons, which are forbidden in accordance with the weapons boycott.

According to the Department's statement, part of the support has already been furnished to FRELIMO.

The government's affirmation that it is lending aid to the Mozambican Government in the latest development concerning the Cahora Bassa power line and electricity supply to South Africa. ESCOM /Electricity Supply Commission/ recently stated that no electricity has yet been received from Cahora Bassa, more than 3 months after an agreement about it between South Africa, Portugal and Mozambique was concluded. According to the agreement signed on 2 May in Capetown, electricity was to have been provided within 3 months. However, 19 power poles have been sabotaged by the Mozambique National Resistance /MNR/, which has made the delivery of power impossible.

According to reports, important supplies are now being sent to FRELIMO troops by way of Zimbabwe. Helicopters and truck convoys are allegedly involved. The provision of these supplies is intended to help the "besieged" FRELIMO troops in guarding the power line.

The sources claim that several South African helicopters are involved in delivering supplies to FRELIMO troops in the Mozambican province of Tete. These supplies include food and ammunition. South African trucks are driven to the border at Beitbrug where they are turned over to Zimbabwean troops, who then drive them to Cahora Bassa. The convoys are closely guarded, especially on the stretch through Tete, where they are one of the MNR's favorite targets.

A spokesman for the MNR in Lisbon, Jorge Correira, said that the MNR is aware that South African has sent helicopters with weapons and ammunition to FRELIMO troops. These helicopters have not been involved in combat.

"The helicopters are being flown by South African pilots. They take supplies from a base near the dam and take food and ammunition to units of the Mozambican Army along the power line. Our men often report that they have seen the helicopters."

The support that the government is now giving to the communist FRELIMO administration is a dramatic turnaround. Although it has of course never been affirmed, it has been accepted that the government has actively supported the MNR since the 1970's. According to these reports, the government has given logistical support to the MNR, and a training camp for the guerrilla movement was set up near Pretoria. Radio broadcasts were also allegedly made from a secret transmitting station near Phalabrowa. These broadcasts were suspended on the same day that the government concluded the Accord of Nkomati with the Mozambican Government.

In January of this year, the MNR claimed to have surrounded the Mozambican capital, Maputo. According to those reports, MNR troops were within 70 km of Maputo.

Although the Accord of Nkomati was intended to terminate South African aid to the MNR and in this way to force the organization to surrender, this has not yet happened. The MNR has even succeeded in intensifying its attacks, and attacks on vehicles and trains continue in 9 of the country's 10 provinces.

According to reports, strategists are puzzled over the sustained success of the MNR. What is especially enigmatic is where the MNR is getting its supplies. According to MNR spokesmen, the organization had to "reorganize" its supply routes after the Accord of Nkomati, and South African supplies are no longer important.

Correira told a Johannesburg newspaper that his movement is now receiving supplies from four European countries. The supplies are landed along the long Mozambican coastline, the MNR maintains.

The Mozambican Government maintains, however, that rightist oriented Portuguese immigrants in South Africa are providing the MNR with weapons.

12271

CSO: 3401/135

CHIEF BUTHELEZI DENIES BEING POLITICAL 'COLLABORATIONIST'

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 16 Sep 84 p 24

[Article by Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi]

[Text] Professor David Welsh must be admired for his prompt personal response to the unwholesome behaviour by a faction in the University of Cape Town student body ("Bully Boys!" September 9).

His article admirably upholds academic freedom as a sacrosanct value which universities can destroy only at their own peril.

He draws out the implications of the behaviour of some students who were successful in disrupting a meeting which I was to address on the campus. I would, however, take issue with him on one front.

I believe that academic freedom should not inhibit any particular university from adopting a point of view as a university.

Whether or not the demands of academic freedom should lead to freedom of speech on a campus is an issue which Professor Welsh has dealt with succinctly and perhaps even definitively. This is only one issue.

His treatment of the incident concerned brings a second and related question: that of what a university as a university thinks of the despicable behaviour of a faction of its students who disrupted university life on the evening of August 23.

Equal Hostility

Professor Welsh clearly conveys his own condemnation of the student behaviour to which I am referring.

He adds that the group of students who demonstrated against my presence tried, condemned and hanged me for the yet-unproved accusations of what happened at Ngoye.

But he goes on to say: "It is quite possible that equal hostility would have been manifest even if these killings had not occurred, because to radicals he is a symbol of 'collaborationist' politics who does not deserve a hearing."

Nowhere does Professor Welsh express an opinion about this sub-strata of accusations levelled against me from a number of quarters.

Somebody reading the article could infer that Professor Welsh himself has not adopted a position on whether or not I am involved in "collaborationist" politics.

One is entitled to ask whether the University of Cape Town, as a university, sees me as a "collaborationist" or not.

In black political terms this is such a vile accusation that one would have expected a leading academic such as Professor Welsh not simply to have stated that there is a faction of radical students, as he calls them, who accuse me of "collaboration" but to have castigated them for this accusation.

Does the university not have an obligation to the public to clarify where it stands when a group of its members make this kind of accusation?

Universities, like the churches, live in troubled times, and universities, like the churches, need to adopt specific points of view as universities on fundamental issues.

Fence-sitting on these issues is as much a threat to academic freedom as would be any disruptive student protest.

We live in a society threatening the escalation of violence, and there are some who are attempting to make the collaborationist accusation stick in order to escalate black/black political conflict in this country.

When I am accused of being a "collaborationist" politician, nearly a million card-carrying members of Inkatha feel deeply insulted.

Political scientists accept that for every card-carrying member of a political party there is more than one sympathiser. This means that millions over and above Inkatha members who are supporters and sympathisers are affronted.

Millions of black South Africans are entitled to ask where Professor Welsh and the University of Cape Town actually stand in this regard.

Does the university as a university regard me as a "collaborationist" and defend my right to speak on the campus simply because they regard academic freedom as a value which should be upheld?

Thuggery

In talking about Dr Koornhof addressing the university, Professor Welsh defended his right to speak on the campus, but added that Dr Koornhof was a member of a "government that has consistently violated the principle" (academic freedom).

He felt constrained to evidence a university point of view about Dr Koornhof. Why has he not felt as constrained to evidence a university point of view about my being accused of "collaboration?"

I think this is an important question, and I hope that its asking is not seen as a rejection of Professor Welsh's treatment on the subject of academic freedom.

I am simply drawing attention to a dimension of academic freedom which has not been touched on by him.

Professor Welsh is aware that I have spoken to audiences at the University of Cape Town on many occasions, and that I did so while I was doing exactly what I am now doing politically.

The University of Cape Town has not changed its nature. It is an institution which has always lived on the subsidies given to it by successive apartheid governments.

Every student who attends the university does so by Ministerial decree.

So-called radical students have never forgone, and now do not forgo, the privilege of being at the University of Cape Town because they identify with the suffering black masses, and because the university is what they would call "within the system".

Professor Welsh needs to account for the events on August 23 by bringing in factors in addition to those revolving round the noble principles of academic freedom.

He needs to isolate political thuggery for what it is, and he needs to see the terrible dangers inherent in a section of the university's privileged students attempting to make the campus a no-go area for selected black political leaders.

He needs to see that when nuclei of white student thugs engineer black/black conflicts, conflict will spill over to become black/white conflict.

Black South Africa is in no mood to be held to ransom by cliques of white students who will go on to become full participants in oppressive white South Africa.

The University of Cape Town needs to look at the kind of future to which unchallenged political licence on the part of a minority group on its campus is committing it.

Universities in this country continue their existence in apartheid society. The University of Cape Town is in law as much a tribal university as any of the black universities.

The legislation which established black universities made white universities white.

Academics did not resign their posts, but accepted the challenge of upholding the ideals of a university and of upholding academic freedom within a narrow set of limited circumstances.

Devil

The millions of black South Africans who have elected me to lead them expect me to fight the devil wherever he is found, and, if the devil of apartheid is found in a so-called homeland, then he should be fought there where he is.

When I wage a relentless battle against the evils of apartheid by fighting its devil in a so-called homeland, am I any more of a "collaborationist" than academics in universities who are forced to operate within apartheid dictates?

Professor Welsh is a social scientist, and one would have expected his analytical mind to address itself to this very fundamental question.

And one would have expected the university as a university not only to condemn reprehensible behaviour on the part of a minority of its students but also to condemn the claimed rationale for that despicable behaviour.

CSO: 3400/12

'SPECIAL SECTION' ON BECKETT'S 'INTENSIVE DEMOCRACY'

Breytenbach Article

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Aug 84 pp 31-37

[Article by Dr Willie Breytenbach: "A Little Confusion Does No Harm"]

[Text]

MANY THANKS for your invitation to make comments on your magnum opus on the future of South Africa.

After having read through your article with great fascination, I feel I should respond despite the fundamental differences between our points of departure.

However, I would like to state that your article is incisive, that it does contain a lot of pertinent and relevant social comment. Your observations are poignant, but also polemical.

I will now try to list my *agreements*, then my *disagreements* and then offer some *general comments*.

I agree with your assessment about the magnitude of recent social changes in South Africa, especially the advancement of Blacks.

I agree with your lament that had the Rhodesians thought the unthinkable, things would have been otherwise. But contrary to yours, my contention is that had they thought in terms of regional autonomy and devolution of power, the present turmoil in Matabeleland might have been prevented.

I agree with your assessment that many Whites assume that the alternative to White control is chaos. The alternative to control is not chaos but co-responsibility and the prevention of group domination, i.e. a system where neither colour nor numbers are of paramount importance.

I agree with your assessment that the supporters of government do no longer believe in grand theory. We believe in

unique solutions to unique problems.

I agree with your assessment that liberal critics of government fail to propose viable alternatives. In fact many of the "solutions" offered by those critics will inevitably lead to less liberty and more controls (à la the fruits of liberation elsewhere in Africa).

I agree with your assessment that confusion reigns in the centre of White politics. Can genuine reforms be anything else? Ultimate confusion is revolution, and that is bad, but a little bit of confusion can certainly do no harm!

I agree with your assessment that "ethnic affiliations doubtless have a place, but there is no reason for these to be paramount". However, I fail to detect any of those (ethnic) parameters in your own scheme of things.

I agree with your assessment of a conflict between the supporters of liberty (usually the free marketeers) and equality (usually the race philanthropists). But few, if any, of these creatures are actually comfortable bedfellows.

I agree with your assessment that statutory segregation, if removed, is replaced by other kinds of societal patterns. There is no such a thing as a "melting pot", only perhaps bowls of spaghetti!

I agree with your mechanics of the reform process, but I disagree with your view of defining goals beforehand. If the intention was to work out a unique solution in consultation with others, then the defining of goals beforehand becomes an exercise in deceit and arrogance.

I agree with your assessment that time is required to create a climate of trust and confidence. In fact, I think we may have some so-called historical forces lined up against us, and that the only ally we really have is time!

I agree with your assessment that there is no single right "moment of change". Things happen when they must.

After having stated all these agreements, I must, however, also state some disagreements.

Firstly, the "bad" things in South Africa are probably not as bad as you make them out to be. Remember the words of Oom Boy Louw: "Watch the scoreboard!" We still have stability and growth. Quite remarkable, given the odds.

Don't underrate the Boere

I therefore disagree with your assessment that we "muddle through" which, according to your view is "doubtless part of the reason why we believe there is no future". Your own statements contradict this view. Moreover, the regional development successes since 1982, and constitutional progress since 1983, prove that success is not an unrealistic expectation. Certainly, not a case of muddling, or of doubting the future. *Jy moet nie die boere onderskat nie.*

I disagree with your assessment that it is a pity that Black rule in Rhodesia was once regarded as unthinkable. Why a pity? Does this not suggest to you that we should learn from their mistakes and avoid the kind of system where numbers, with no cognizance of pluralities, lead to zero-sum games that pile up frustration upon frustration to ethnic minorities!

I therefore disagree with your underestimation of ethnicity. Surely this is not paramount, as you yourself suggested, but it is not negligible either. By the way, ethnicity is neither necessarily a corollary of traditionalism, nor in the South African context of apartheid only. It is also a corollary of modernity. Truly the politics of the city. In fact, in Africa the "politics of liberation" have since decolonization been replaced by the "politics of division", to be sure, the scramble for opportunities (i.e. power and wealth) mainly along ethnic lines. So for many people in the modernizing world, ethnicity still lies in the future. Traditionalism is part of the past, ethnicity not. Afrikaners and Jews

are modern tribes, you know.

I disagree with your view of democracy, which if I may say so, is typically First Worldian. Majoritarian. Surely, if defined as "participatory" and "effective" government, other varieties than the majoritarian ones are concoctable.

I disagree with your assessment that majoritarian democracy could work in South Africa, even if it had failed almost anywhere else in the Third World. What makes us so different? We are no different. Hence the fuss about "poverty" and the "informal sector". Third World stuff.

I disagree with your assessment that our decentralization policy is "an unworkable mish-mash where we confuse our motives".

This new policy is now only two years old and has produced spectacular results in terms of industrial investments and newly created job opportunities despite Curt's revelations in his "Business Brokies"! We are the first to acknowledge that we still have a long way to go. But then we have come a long way!

I disagree with your assessment that we are petrified by the process of Black urbanization. This was the case many years ago, when it was seen as part of the problem.

But nowadays, it is part of the development strategy. The scarcity of land for agricultural purposes necessitates this (One can borrow money from the World Bank, but unfortunately not land!).

I disagree with your assessment that rightwingers are today's "believers". They are the "fearers". The reformers are the "believers". (Saint Wilhelmus!)

I disagree with your assessment that we look up to the stable, free and prosperous states, but then refuse to apply their principles here. These states you alluded to, I am sure, are all First World states. And remember, South Africa is not in this league. And American bankers will tell you we are not in the bankrupt league either.

I disagree with your assessment that "effective democracy" (your "newspeak" for majority rule) offers white people substantial continuity of security and the lifestyle they now enjoy. My only comment is: "Really?"

But I also disagree with the stereotype that democracy is a white man's system. As I have said before, democracy need not be majoritarian, and need not be Western at all.

The key is participation and devolution, not head counting. And politics is

not the only aspect of democracy. Without the "good life" no democracy can survive.

Genuine reform is always painful

I disagree with the stereotype that government would not pay attention to Black aspirations. Surely, Blacks are not excluded from development and consultation processes in this country. In fact, they are the primary objects of many, if not most of these exercises.

I disagree with your assessment that "the constitutional fight is a waste of energy and an unnecessary cause of division". Any reform, anywhere in the world is painful, and if ours were not, then surely it is not genuine, merely cosmetic.

A beer on offer

I think I disagree with you about the stereotype that still regards some of our population not to be trusted with democracy, if this also includes such values as participation and devolution (I will buy you a beer if you can tell me who is the mayor of Harare or the elected administrator of Shaba Province), multi-party tolerance, coalition and compromise, consensus, freedom of association and a healthy understanding of the inter-balance between what is needed and what is affordable.

I therefore partly agree with the stereotype that one-man-one-vote democracies tend to produce Amins and Bokassas in the face of abject poverty. Does it not strike you that these are all

Third World examples and that South Africa does have a Third World component?

I am not quite sure what you are saying, but I agree with the stereotype that the ANC and other terrorist organizations should not be allowed to take over. To me, violence is as repugnant as racism is to others. But apart from violence, some of these "liberation" organizations are terribly racist you know. Doubly unacceptable. Wouldn't you agree?

Hovering near the passmark

So on balance, I would give you only 40% for your effort. Your major weaknesses are your lack of understanding of the reform process in South Africa. Presently there is reform in South Africa, but also stability. This is the crux of the issue. The questions to be asked are therefore (a) whether any other attempt would have been affordable – I think one of the reasons why one-man-one-vote systems have failed in Africa, is simply that it was unaffordable; and (b) whether any other attempt would have been more conducive to stability. If your answers to both are "yes", then I subtract another 20% from your marks – that means outright failure (dit wil sê jy dop). But if you agreed that the answers are "no", then I would consider adding the 10% required for a pass!

Willie Breytenbach
Pretoria

(The answers Dr Breytenbach wants will appear in the next edition. Readers are welcome to comment.)

Vause Raw Article

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Aug 84 pp 31-37

[Article by Vause Raw: "Red Rag to a Red Bull"]

[Text] DENIS BECKETT'S article makes interesting, albeit time consuming, reading. Most political parties in South Africa, white and other, would claim that lasting security in S.A. requires a social, political and economic system which would remove oppression and domination and would offer full opportunity for maximum advancement and progress to all individuals and groups. The missing ele-

ment is that of group rights. Those on the extreme left of the political spectrum argue that this can only be achieved by the complete dismantling of the apartheid system and its replacement by a common society with universal adult franchise on a common voters roll, i.e. majority rule, and economic policies incorporating varying degrees of socialism. Those on the right would insist that the statutory and

total separation of groups on racial lines remain a prerequisite for future stability.

The factual situation in South Africa today is that the present government, together with a large section of the white population, has perceived that the policy of apartheid has failed to bring about security and stability and that political opinion has moved towards the centre of the spectrum. Adjustments are being made to the system commensurate with this perception. All of this has, of course, been ably described by Mr Beckett in his article. However, the problem with his argument is the apparent belief that the solution of our problem lies merely in getting to the opposite extreme from the "status quo". There is no doubt that this probably reflects the aspirations of most black (and brown) South Africans who have suffered under the vagaries of the present system based, as it is, on skin colour, but it does not take into account the very real reasons for the nature of white perceptions and attitudes.

What is completely ignored is the reality of the inherent strength of the various nationalisms in South Africa. This is as true of Afrikaner nationalism, despite the present political schism, as it is of Zulu or any other nationalism.

By overlooking this fact he attempts to solve the problem without beginning to define what the true nature of the problem is! The most crucial factor of the South African equation in terms of problem solving must be the recognition of pluralism as a mechanism to accommodate the deep schisms in our society.

Secondly the nature of white perceptions impinges most directly on another argument put forward by Mr Beckett, i.e. that to declare by way of a declaration of intent as a vague long-term objective that the end of the road will be an open non-racial society based on one-man-one-vote will engender a more positive attitude towards evolutionary reform on the part of the masses. This can only lead to growing demands for a fixed time-table and unleash aspirations which are impossible to satisfy in the reality of politics and which could only cause greater frustration than at present. It would also only serve as a red rag to a bull to those whose objectives are revolutionary and who are committed to the creation of a new Marxist order in South Africa. Far more seriously it ignores another reality, namely, that any white government today which dares to promise majority rule,

however distant, would not survive the next general election. It is also conceivable that such a statement could unleash a white rightwing backlash capable of more disruption than any leftwing action could be.

Two known factors must be considered. One is that the Western system of democracy applied to Africa has been an overwhelming failure. Any protestation that this need not necessarily apply to South Africa and that things could well be different here, amounts to little more than political day-dreaming.

Secondly the value system of Africa seems to favour autocratic leadership with the countenancing of political opposition seen as a sign of weakness. The question then is whether these factors eliminate democracy as a future governmental system for South Africa? I believe not. I contend that Mr Beckett's definition of democracy as a system based on universal adult franchise on a common voters roll is superficial and unrealistic in the context of African experience and reality.

I need only refer to a recent article written by the political scientist Prof. Arendt Lijphart, entitled "Majoritarianism versus Democracy" to support the argument that under many conditions majority rule can in fact be anti-democratic. We in the NRP have always fought against state imposed segregation but we certainly do not believe that the alternative to continued white domination is its replacement with black domination. Apart from the fact that it could not be instituted by peaceful means, the consequences of a scramble for tribal power on stability, investor confidence and economic growth, would be disastrous.

We believe the logical alternative to the majoritarian principle lies in pluralism and the consensus principle. This in turn demands the devolution of power to self-defined groups, initially probably ethnic, and the consequent growth of the concept of segmental autonomy wherein groups exercise authority over those matters of intimate interest to them whilst their leadership elements attempt to reach agreement over matters of concern to all.

We believe that the consensus option via segmental autonomy, rather than centralising power and thus entrenching domination, would in fact diminish domination and lead to a more relaxed climate

of political bargaining with heightened prospects for real achievement through the creation of mutual confidence and trust.

What I have attempted to do is to point out that the peaceful alternative to a white dominated apartheid system is not black dominated majority rule but a negotiated system of power-sharing based on pluralism. In so doing one would not

attempt to shift the political structure from the one extreme to the other, but to a position in the centre where compromise can take place to accommodate the aspirations and interests of the white minority along with all the other minorities in this complex country of ours.

W. Vause Raw
House of Assembly

Mabogoane Article

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Aug 84 pp 31-37

[Article by Meshack Mabogoane: "Race Is the Paramount Issue"]

[Text]

HEAVEN KNOWS that there is a crying need for change and decency in South Africa. The devil knows too, how this factual expectation has spawned many fancy theories, panaceas and movements designed to usher in the new era.

Frontline's recent article "To find a future" is a case in point, though not the worst of such fancies: indeed it is the most reasoned fiction. That is why it is so tantalising, yet still illusory.

It is apparently true that there is a new feel in South Africa; the mode of socio-racial relations has certainly improved. However, to read into this improvement the prelude to a democratic, multi-racial government, as *Frontline* does, is to misunderstand not only South Africa's political realities, but the nature of change as universally experienced. For the last century or so, in the melting pot that is the United States of America, European nations, African tribes, Asian kinds have been put into the American cauldron in an attempt to scrub off their separate identities. Much success has been achieved, yet the American voting behaviour still, right up to the coming Presidential election, follows more or less ethnic lines.

Millenia of assimilation into gentile society in Europe did not stop Jews being perceived as different.

Right here in South Africa democracy amongst whites has followed along similar lines. Who are the majority supporters of the Nats, of the PFP? Jy weet/You know. Of course there will always be liberated individuals, but the rest of us follow the herd instinct.

Whenever there is a discussion on the race issue in South Africa the Nats' policies serve as the beginning and end points. We look over our shoulders and do not face the realities or think through them. In fact what is being rejected is not race, but racial domination.

We can not overcome the need to reckon with the relations between races in South Africa. A multi-racial future does not mean that we shall be able to forget about dealing with racial problems. In fact, that is when the starkness of the phenomenon will be manifest.

Contrary to some slogans apartheid has been the unifying force, bringing together very disparate and truly antagonistic forces. Just as the capitalist West and Red Russia closed ranks in the fight against Hitler, the "struggle" against apartheid has spawned an amazing alliance of capitalists, dreamy socialists, merchants, Indians, whites, Africans — the whole mixed masala of people, creeds and ideologies. When apartheid, like nazism, goes, will the grand alliance be left intact? Look at the US and Russia now.

The real point is that we must acknowledge that race is the paramount issue and dividing line; that whenever we envisage an alternative framework to racial domination and black ethnic "States", we should go straight into the race divide and devise a political and constitutional dispensation that on the one hand will maximise unity and self-determination within racial groups and, on the other, maximise co-operation between the races on matters of mutual concern.

What must be compromised? Majority rule, separate development, socialism, capitalism, nationalism, multi-racialism, Christian principles, Islamic law, Judaism, African spiritualism? It really staggers the imagination. Perhaps that is why merely fighting apartheid is so nice and safe. It avoids the real questions.

Meshack Mabogoane
Soweto

Leaver Article

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Aug 84 pp 31-37

[Article by Ralph Leaver: "Navigating by Braille"]

[Text] "TO FIND A FUTURE" did much to clear the reformist air and tighten up some thinking. It achieved this by highlighting a sort of euphoric vagueness on the part of government supporters, coupled with the apparent confusion in the "centre and left of the white political spectrum".

Optimistically, we have a feeling of movement. We believe that the government of P.W. Botha is leading us somewhere, but sometimes we wonder if it was wise to start the journey at five minutes to midnight, using the Braille system as the only navigational aid, literally feeling our way towards an unknown destination.

At the rear of the caravan, the official Opposition's direction-finding efforts consist of little more than urgings to turn Left and hope for the best.

All that we are sure about is the surrounding blackness . . .

Then Mr. Beckett comes to the rescue. He points out that the enveloping blackness is not a handicap; it is the end of the journey.

With impeccable logic, Mr. Beckett argues for equal rights, qualified only by a time-table to allow for peaceful transition. It is only when he pleads for Western-style, multi-Party democracy that the logic falls apart.

Certainly, there must be equal rights and opportunity for all, but do we really want the sort of outmoded "democracy" which worked only passably well in the 19th Century?

Let us look instead at the case for a colour-blind, one-Party state, and consider the evidence of decay in the old-

fashioned, Western democratic system:-

1) Democracy is supposed to be about what the people want, yet today it is something which has to be forced on the people.

In South Africa, a constituency poll of 70% in a parliamentary election is regarded as large, meaning that in highly favourable circumstances about 30% of the electorate don't bother to vote. There are thousands of immigrants, of many years' standing, who could easily acquire voting rights, but don't bother.

Today, the only people truly dedicated to "democracy" are professional politicians. Average people just want good management (with the right to get rid of incompetent managers) and the freedom to live their own lives in peace and privacy.

2) The meaninglessness of old-fashioned democracy in the modern world was clearly defined by Anthony Smith in his *Politics of Information* published in 1977. He said: "The vision of an informed mass democracy is fading. We are moving towards a highly informed elite and an entertained mass".

Why? Presumably, because this is the way the "mass" want it. The majority of people are satisfied if they can be "well informed" in areas which affect their daily lives, such as career opportunities, home economics, child-rearing and recreation.

3) Where does democracy begin and where does it end? Quite correctly, Mr. Beckett says that in a traditional democracy, there must be room for Parties advocating anti-democratic, totalitarian

doctrines. He sees such Parties as being on the "fringe". But what if one of these "fringe" Parties reaches a stage where it threatens the existence of the democratic State? Does democracy then come to an end with the banning of the totalitarian Party, or does it come to an end through an electoral victory for the totalitarian Party? It should be remembered that Hitler and the Nazis achieved power through a democratic election.

Here, we can see the advantage of a one-Party State, offering a stable, albeit limited, form of democracy which cannot easily be ousted. The emphasis would be on management skills, and results, rather than political theories, racial or otherwise.

4) Mr. Beckett tries to give traditional democracy some respectability by suggesting that, historically, the British aristocracy were in favour of it. This is not quite the way I have always understood the situation. The British landed gentry, in general, never thought the common people were "ready for democracy".

The early champions of democracy in Britain were the newly emergent industrial barons, who had their own

reasons for advocating a degree of power sharing.

5) Finally, South Africa is in the not unusual position of having to decide upon the lesser of two evils. There are some obvious disadvantages and dangers in the one-Party system, but it is possible that these are exaggerated for subconscious, emotional reasons. After all, this is not the way they do it in England!

But our circumstances are not English. We are a very diverse people. What we need is a unifying factor. By its nature, traditional democracy exacerbates and encourages diversity. In a country like South Africa, with many diversities of race and class, in varying stages of development, the result could be chaotic, as we can see in other parts of Africa. There are sound reasons why our neighbours have abandoned traditional democracy in favour of the one-Party system.

At least in the beginning, a one-Party State, with its implied discipline, could be the best thing for a multi-racial South Africa, encouraging unity in an equal, but diverse, society.

Ralph Leaver
Muizenberg

Higgins Article

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Aug 84 pp 31-37

[Article by Professor Edward Higgins: "Tantalizing Pipedream"]

[Text]

THE MOST powerful impression gained from reading "To Find a Future" is the writer's deep concern and unbounded optimism. This timely and thought-provoking article is singularly antiseptic, rarefied and seemingly remote from the gut-like hurly-burly of actual day-to-day political striving. However, much as I would like to, I cannot share Mr Beckett's optimistic view of a future South Africa.

One does not usually criticise a writer for his omissions; one does not usually take issue with him over what he did not say. However, the position is somewhat different when the article in question sketches, inter alia, future political profiles.

The writer makes insufficient allowance for the tentacles of tribalism; he certainly does not give enough weight to ethnic allegiance. Admittedly, he

argues that "ethnic affiliations doubtless have a place but there is no reason for these to be paramount." Says who? For instance, ethnocentrism and desire for revenge are, unfortunately, common to all members of the human species.

Demographic data are totally ignored in this entrancing article and yet they have great shaping power. Emotional factors, too, seem to be largely overlooked. Yet we know that human beings — especially when they act corporately — are always much more moved by faith and slogans than they are by logic and reason.

Are South Africans in general — and blacks in particular — so special and so unique that they are uncontaminated by the passions that plague other men? What has immunised us against the sweep of history? What warrant have

we that one-man-one-vote would not eventuate in a one-party totalitarian state. What evidence is there of black understanding of, and commitment to, democracy? After all, the tribal mentality is characteristically inhospitable to the idea of dissent and political opposition. No one can dispute the fact that, culturally considered, democracy is a foreign plant in Africa.

A study of South Africa's census statistics over the last six decades shows unmistakably that all four main ethnic groups are moving — albeit at different speeds — to a future point of demographic convergence. Nevertheless, great gaps still remain and the cultural divide is incontestably the greatest hurdle to the establishment of a truly democratic South Africa based on universal franchise. *Prima facie*, it is an almost intractable obstacle. One wonders what the largely unsophisticated black masses will expect from democracy. But, perhaps, they will prefer a one-party socialist state which, in their eyes, has a better chance of delivering the goods than a free enterprise democratic state. Who knows?

Southern African observers frequently draw parallels and make comparisons between the old Rhodesia and contemporary RSA. However, these comparisons lack what the statisticians would call "goodness of fit". For one thing, the differences between the two countries in population composition, degree of industrialization and urbanisation as well as geographical terrain and natural resources make parallels and comparisons tricky and unhelpful.

Mr Beckett mentions "an orderly route toward democracy." Can there be such a phenomenon in a volatile continent like Africa? In this context, the actual track-record is preferable to charitable speculation: one must be guided by actualities, by what actually happened and by what is likely to happen again rather than by "mights", "maybes" and "ifs". Thus, "the prospect of making democracy work to our advantage" is, putting it at its mildest, extremely slim indeed.

The knotty problem of the route, the means, the road to democracy remains. What is the price tag attached to it? How do we effectively achieve this democracy which so many desire — how do we achieve it peacefully, non-violently? As Mr Beckett himself avers, democracy, so to speak, has to be created;

it does not drop from the skies.

The writer maintains that "nearly all whites see undiluted democracy as a very antithesis of their survival". There must surely be some very good reasons for this overwhelming conviction. If such exist — and I believe they do — they are not reviewed in sufficient depth in this otherwise excellent and thought-provoking article.

Full franchise, by itself, is not a panacea for all South Africa's ills. Even if there was suddenly universal franchise and a so-called government of liberation tomorrow, grave problems would still confront us: crime, ignorance, work absenteeism, alcoholism, drug addiction, broken families, the plight of the aged, housing shortages, low productivity, and illegitimacy.

Is one-man-one-vote the only alternative to apartheid? Is the position really so either-or? I think not. In fact, some political commentators have proposed a new socio-political system for South Africa — a kind of federal one that scraps apartheid and yet, because of its corporate contours, is not based on one-man-one-vote.

One wonders how the idyllic democratic state so eloquently described by Mr Beckett is going to come about. Even after reading this intellectually galvanising article a number of times I am still uncertain.

Democracy can only work when most of the citizens and interest groups accept the rules and play the political game by those rules. But what happens if and when they refuse to play the game by the rules? What then?

Mr Beckett wants "a democratic state brought about through an orderly and reasoned route." So, I imagine, do all of us who care about our country. But nothing is to be gained by overlooking all the possible pitfalls and traps which lie between the present RSA and the almost utopian future so provocatively outlined by the writer.

In Mr Beckett's democracy we are told that many blacks would vote for whites. I find his reasons in this context unconvincing except in the case of blacks in truly backward rural areas.

Many political scientists favour the idea of proportional representation but have doubts about the feasibility of a multiplicity of parties. Would such political arrangements make sense to the black masses who have been thirsting for

so long for what to them, represents "liberation"?

At times Mr Beckett seems to be implying that history won't repeat itself in South Africa's case; history will make an exception for us. Why will black politicians be so different to white politicians? How can we be sure that the mantle of sweet reasonableness will suddenly descend on black political leaders once they acquire political power? In the heady days of 1948 and immediately after, the Nationalist government did not ooze honey and reconciliation; neither were they consensus-prone. They were unashamedly partisan and self-righteously ethnocentric. They seemed to quickly forget the days of their minority-group status and national humiliation. Why shouldn't some future black government behave in a similar fashion?

What human beings say and do when they are in political opposition is often quite different from what they say and do when they have obtained political power. Some are sobered by the acquisition of power while others become delusional and irresponsible. How do we know which type is going to come to the surface in the South Africa of the future?

The scrapping of apartheid is not necessarily the key to paradise. Is there any reason why the black struggle won't throw up leaders like Idi Amin, Gaddafi or Khomeni? Why must we always expect people like Buthelezi or Mangope or Hendrickse? In similar vein, how can we be sure that majority rule will turn out after all to be a paper tiger?

In terms of the writer's definitions and expectations, one must agree with him when he argues that "an effective democracy in South Africa offers white people substantial continuity of the security and lifestyle they enjoy now." Of course, everything hinges on the adjective, "effective". But what about the immense income gap presently existing between blacks and whites (in 1980 the white per capita income was 12,94 times as high as that of the blacks)? Surely, supposing the blacks eventually topple the present white political establishment, they will not be content to sit back and accept the staggering maldistribution of wealth that characterises present-day South Africa?

The writer's idea of a timetable for transition to a full, one-man-one-vote democracy is sound but is it practical

in terms of actual politics where, unfortunately, reason and logic rarely rule? People who feel they have been long oppressed tend to become impatient and suspicious of evolutionary stages. To them, timetables (whether 10, 5 or 2 years) look like stalling mechanisms. Demagogues and radicals, who demand everything now, find an easy following.

Mr Beckett foresees changes on the part of the white political authorities which would make it respectable for black leaders to cooperate with whites. With the extremist, all-or-nothing postures currently popular among radical blacks, I cannot see any substance in the writer's expectations in this regard. Today's black youth, in particular, are decidedly truculent and appear to have been bitten by the confrontation-militancy bug. Perhaps one should not grant so much durability to the forces of revolution but it would appear as if a significant sector of the black intelligentsia have swallowed the Marxist myth about thesis versus antithesis leading to a syntheses, i.e., the inevitability of the victory of the noble toiling masses over the wicked reactionary capitalists.

When the blacks get their hands on the levers of political power they will surely desire to wipe out what to them is a humiliating past, especially if they are Marxist-inspired. After all theirs is a religion that builds all things new, that renews the face of the earth.

This fascinating article is silent about a number of things. For instance, who is going to pay for all the improved schooling, housing and hospital facilities and new job opportunities for an ever expanding black population in order to bring them on a par with those currently enjoyed by the whites? The economic implications are quite mind-boggling when we consider that the black population of Southern Africa will double in approximately one generation.

Even if we had an ANC government in power, it would take time for blacks to acquire educational parity and parity in administrative, bureaucratic and executive expertise. In the political sphere, there is no instant formula for heaven-on-earth.

It is a *principled* (in a politico-moral sense) people who build a democracy and keep it going. How are we going to have enough of such people, especially when the masses are strangers to demo-

cratic rule? They are ill-prepared for any sudden transition to democracy.

One wonders if the masses in the RSA are really interested in democracy and the niceties of political (often mostly academic) debate. What they appear to want primarily is a better deal in respect of jobs, housing, education, welfare, protection against criminal elements as well as the abolition of forced removals and pass laws plus all discriminatory measures,

The end-product as described on page 16 looks good – incredibly good; it is incomparably better than what we have now. Frankly, I wish it wasn't a pipe-dream.

Edward Higgins
Grahamstown

Prof. Higgins does not adequately take into account the most important single point in the article. This is that if democracy is created vigorously enough, and dug in firmly enough, it carries its own built-in, structural, guarantee of stability. It encompasses and subsumes human frailties, racism. Paper guarantees and good intentions are not necessary. They are overtaken by the dynamic of the structure itself.

Further replies to some of Prof. Higgins' comments later.

CSO: 3400/2199

PFP'S POLICY OUTLINED IN PARTY CONGRESS

Membership Open to All Races

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 17 Sep 84 p 12

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — The Progressive Federal Party indicated clearly at the weekend the party membership would be open to all, irrespective of race or colour, but it was not going to embark on a recruitment drive.

Three resolutions dealing with the Prohibition of Political Interference Act were passed by the PFP's Cape provincial congress in Cape Town.

One — regarded as the most important — was that membership of the PFP had always been open to people of all races but that the Act had effectively prevented people other than Whites from becoming members.

An amendment was moved deleting the word "recruit" from the resolution, after which it was passed.

There was one dissenting vote by a congress member who argued that by allowing membership to other groups it would have been an infringement of the law.

Replying to the resolution, the leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said if people wanted to join the PFP and understood the consequences, then he would be prepared to let them.

Earlier, Dr Slabbert said he felt the Act should disappear from the statute books and that this was something he had stated before.

In terms of his party's constitution, the PFP was open to any person irrespective of race, sex or religion. The only reason they could not join was because of the Act.

"I am loathe to encourage others into prosecution if they are not doing it voluntarily. If you talk of recruitment campaigns, you are talking of recruiting other people into prosecution." — Sapa.

Slabbert on PFP's Goals

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 17 Sep 84 p 12

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — The Progressive Federal Party was going into the new dispensation to pursue an open society for all South Africans, its leader, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

Addressing the party's Cape congress, Dr Slabbert said the PFP would pursue its former goals in the new constitution as it had under the old.

"The question has been asked: 'Do we go in to destroy or do we go in to make it work?'"

"We go in to do neither — we go in to pursue an open society for all South Africans.

"The constitution is not a goal in itself but a means, and so too was the old.

"Even the Government says it is a point of departure and we must see to it that it is used to pursue an open society rather than the National Party's apartheid society."

The traditional role and functions of the Opposition would continue and the PFP would focus on political issues lying outside the scope of the constitution — for example, where did the Department of Co-operation and Development fit into

"general" or "own" affairs?

"It (the Department) is definitely an own affair of the Blacks, which is of general consequence to all in South Africa."

The PFP would also have to explore and exploit contradictions of the new parliamentary system, which had no conventions on which to rely

to cope with these contradictions.

One of these was the marriage of a presidential type of government with a parliamentary type of government and the problems of collective responsibility which would arise in a coalition cabinet. — Sapa.

PIK BOTHA ATTACKS EEC FOR 'INTERFACING' IN RSA

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Sep 84 p 2

[Text] EVENTS in South Africa, including the recent Coloured and Indian elections, were manifestly an internal affair and in no way the concern of the European Economic Community ministers of foreign affairs or any other outside authority, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night.

A September 11 statement by the 10 ministers in Dublin, expressing concern at the arrest and detention in South Africa of people opposed to the new constitution, constituted "unreasonable and unacceptable interference in the domestic affairs" of the Republic, Mr Botha said in a statement issued in Pretoria.

"None of the governments concerned would tolerate similar interference by any outside agency in their internal affairs."

Furthermore, the Minister said, the unwarranted interference had been aggravated by the manifest ignorance of the relevant facts the 10 ministers' declaration revealed.

The 10 expressed their concern at the arrest and detention of those involved in the election boycott, particularly of leaders of the United Democratic Front and the Azanian people's organisation, and said they would seek their immediate release by the South African authorities.

Mr Botha said the intimidatory and violent actions of elements not prepared to allow the democratic process to proceed unhindered had resulted in the loss of life and considerable damage to private and public property.

The Government had had no alternative but to intervene by way of preventive action to protect the lives and property of its citizens, and it noted with concern the 10 had nowhere expressed regret for the loss of life and damage to property caused by the violence.

Mr Botha said his Government also rejected the assertion of the 10 that Black South Africans had been "deliberately expelled from South Africa's political life and denied adequate political means through which to express their grievances".

In their declaration, the 10 said the recent rioting

in Black areas reflected the frustration of Black South Africans at their deliberate expulsion from South Africa's political life.

"Whether the world likes it or not, a substantial percentage of the Black peoples of South Africa opted for political independence years ago... it is irrelevant that the 10 and the world at large refuse to acknowledge this act of self-determination," Mr Botha said.

The 10 would also be aware of the special Cabinet Committee established last year by the then Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to investigate the constitutional advancement of Black people living outside the independent and national states.

In Parliament on Tuesday, Mr P W Botha, as President, had again committed himself to finding appropriate constitutional accommodation for Black South Africans.

"As far as the South African Government is concerned, South Africans themselves, Black and White, Coloured and Asian, are best qualified to determine what was in their best interests and

how their political and other rights can be satisfactorily assured.

"It is not for those who are safely ensconced thousands of miles away and who need bear no responsibility for the consequences of their actions and the policies they demand from South Africa, to prescribe to South Africans how they should go about securing their interests, Mr Botha said. — Sapa.

DETAILS ON PRESIDENT'S MEN GIVEN

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 16 Sep 84 p 13

[Article by Brian Pottinger: "All the President's Men in the Tuinhuis"]

[Text] The symbolism of South Africa's "White House" lies in its location.

The Tuinhuis, seat of presidential power in the new constitutional system, straddles the red-brick Parliament building and the old Cape Dutch-style President's Council chambers.

Just as, in a political sense, the President's office will straddle the tricameral legislature on the one hand and the advisory and deadlock-breaking President's Council on the other.

It is a symbolism liked by the President's men.

In the process of putting together the support structure for South Africa's first quasi-executive State President they have continually sought to project the uniqueness of the office while maintaining a sense of its historic continuity. The Tuinhuis fits the mood well.

The team that will actually serve the President is remarkably small and many of its key figures surprisingly young. No more than 100 public servants, including messengers, drivers and tea makers make up the department's strength.

"We are not going to be extravagant. This is not an American White House setup where the country is run from the State President's office," explains Dr Jannie Roux, secretary-general of the Office of the State President.

The explanation is necessary, because in the rest of the bureaucracy there are occasional flashes of concern about the bureaucratic powers the newly created executive President's Office will assume.

And there are even wider fears about the constitutional and executive powers the President will wield under the controversial new system.

Dr Roux commands the President's men. He still carries--but never uses--the rank of major-general of the Prisons Service. He was transferred some four years ago

to take over the running of the then Prime Minister's Office. He trails a string of part and fulltime degrees and is known to routinely put in 20-hour working days.

In keeping with what he believes is the essential difference between the line functions of other state departments and the staff functions of the President's Office he has a different designation. Other "super secretaries" are known as director-general. The re-designation led to some ribald comment from other DGs, but it has made the point--the State President's Office is different.

Under Dr Roux falls a number of sub-sections. Closest to the President will be his personal secretary and assistant PS. The former is an urbane young naval officer, Captain Ters Ehlers, who has seen more than five year's service with the "Baas" since leaving submarines. His assistant is Ian Putter, also formerly of the PM's Office.

There are a number of other departments. Buks Jordaan, a seconded Prisons Service colonel, heads the Directorate of Liaison Services. He served the Prime Minister for two years and has the unenviable task of personally manning a 24-hour Press liaison service.

The legal department is headed by Johan Heunis. This section will have to bear the heavy burden of guiding the executive President through the legislative minefields that will inevitably accompany the constitution's settling down stage.

Clashes between the President's Office and constitutional development over "turf" will meanwhile have a familiar touch. Mr Heunis--formerly foreign affairs--is the son of Chris Heunis, Minister of the Department of Constitutional Development.

A new department has been created to deal with the increased protocol burden the Prime Minister, turned State President, will carry. Len Louw has been appointed chief of ceremonies.

He is also ex-Prisons Service and thus one of the trinity of prisons "brass" which surrounds the State President. Together with PS, security advisers and others there is a strong military representation in the office--itself a reflection of the President's earlier martial experiences as Minister of Defence.

Security will be handled by Richard Bean, a seconded South African Police colonel; administration is under Martin Koekemoer and a separate section handles household--the running of the residencies.

The President's Council secretariat also comes under Dr Roux--in fact its staff is the biggest slice of the establishment. Koos Bauermeister, unruffled secretary of the old President's Council, continues as secretary to the new.

The primary role of the PC is to act in a deadlock-breaking function should the President refer an issue to it. But it can also be called upon to advise the State President on anything he refers to it--a sort of giant advisory commission.

But another advisory service, closer to the President, has also been created; the Policy Analysis and Advisory Services section. This section will give direct advice to the State President to help him in decision-making. The posts and roles are important.

Dr Daan Prinsloo, a state administration expert, is adviser on political and constitutional issues, while Dr Jannie Pieterse, former head of sociology and social work at the University of Pretoria, will advise on social issues. The office is still looking for an economist to make up the trio.

A vital function of the President's Office is to provide secretarial services to the Cabinet. Dr Roux, apart from being secretary-general, is also secretary to the Cabinet. Under him falls the Cabinet secretariat headed by Johan Weilbach.

The Cabinet organisation itself remains largely unchanged. Three standing Cabinet committees on constitutional, economic and social issues remain with their subordinate working groups comprised of State officials.

The influential State Security Council--operating under specific statute--will continue to evaluate, interpret and formulate security policy for the State President's approval.

In broad terms--Dr Roux is the first to admit--the organisation of the Office of the State President does not entail significant changes to the system which served the Prime Minister.

Together with some officials of the Commission for Administration, Dr Roux last year travelled overseas to study presidential systems first hand. When they returned they sat down with P W Botha and thrashed out a scheme which they believe is lean, flexible and meets the main concern of the incumbent--streamlined co-ordination for policy implementation.

Roux is adamant that the Office of the President is different from other departments. That is why he likes the idea of it being in the Tuinhuis: "In future if one says Tuinhuis one will know it is the President's office.

"It will be the same as 10 Downing Street or the White House." He is hoping the Pretoria site--western wing of Union Buildings--will develop the same associations.

But he is equally insistent the office will not be as big nor embracing as the American model. Ministers will, after all, still be served by their own bureaucracies.

The line of execution still passes from the President, through the Minister with political responsibility, to the chief executive of the department responsible for implementing policy.

"We are not here to control other state departments--to watch over their shoulders to see they do their job. We are not doing the macro-planning and we are not going to run the country--state departments do that."

But the political functioning of the new quasi-executive State President is still cloudy and Dr Roux admits it will only become clear once the system is actually working.

Already state-administration experts are forecasting certain likely trends as the President battles to elevate "consensus" from merely a word to a reality.

Part of this trend is likely to be greater use of "taskforce" Cabinet committees to deal with specific issues that could cause friction between the Government and legislature--particularly the Representatives and Delegates.

Another possible development is the establishment of an "inner" Cabinet--the existing State Security Council would be the basis for this--and an "outer" Cabinet with only peripheral involvement in highly sensitive security issues.

But ultimately this presidential office, so much the result of party political expediency, will be determined, shaped and matured by the incumbent and the man who had the greatest hand in creating it--P W Botha.

CSO: 3400/12

SOUTH AFRICA

AV LEADER BOSHOFF DEFENDS ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 22 Aug 84 pp 8,13

[Interview with Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of the AV, by DIE AFRIKANER: "The Afrikaner People's Guard, Fulfillment of Burning Necessity"; date and place not given]

[Text] Few new movements have caused as much of a stir as the Afrikaner People's Guard [AV] since its creation just over 3 months ago. The newly established cultural organization has been accused of being nothing but a mere front organization for certain political parties and a fierce campaign has been conducted against its leader, Professor Carel Boshoff.

In an extensive personal interview with Professor Boshoff, DIE AFRIKANER questioned him about several issues related to the National Guard.

Question: More than 3 months have gone by since the establishment of the AV. Would you, with hindsight, say that this establishment was desirable?

Professor Boshoff: That is an important question because it goes without saying that there was opposition to that establishment and one has to justify oneself against that opposition. Questions which need to be answered are whether it was all worth the effort and whether it was really necessary to set up the AV.

Now, looking back after 3 months, I am more convinced than ever that the AV was established at the right time, that it is necessary and that it will become ever more necessary.

I have the impression, from reactions I have received but also from the whole course of events, that the AV is a necessary organization for the Afrikaners.

The organizational congress with its tremendous attendance was the first concrete indication of the need for an organization like the AV. What needs to be remembered is that this organization took place in relatively difficult circumstances. The government announced a day of prayer for the same day and, naturally, there was uncertainty among the people about whether they had become involved in something that was worth making sacrifices for.

The fact that 12,000 people gathered together made you realize that there is a burning need among the people to get together and to deliberate. Also, those who had worked together -- the patrons, the planning committee, the speakers who participated -- were not the kind of people who could be brought together simply through emotional incitement.

The way the AV has been received since then by the public at large has been extremely positive.

Question: Especially at the time of its organization, the AV aroused extremely negative publicity. Did this influence the establishment and growth of the movement?

Boshoff: The AV would not have aroused negative publicity if it had been insignificant. Hence, those attacks meant that people took note of the new movement.

I have an idea that after that initially strong reaction, there was an attempt to ignore it to death. However, the fact is that the AV cannot be ignored to death.

All of this proves that the existence of the AV touches people and that it is important. The Americans say that there is no such thing as negative publicity!

Question: What would you ascribe the particularly sharp campaign against the AV to?

Boshoff: This campaign coincides with the reaction against a totally new distribution which is not only constitutional in nature. Remember that the AV does not just take note of the political changes. A new climate is being created by leaders in public, cultural, economic and academic areas. The creation of this climate has drawn reaction from the unswerving Afrikaners. Because they have dug in their heels against that kind of change, those who wanted to make a sudden surprise attack on the Afrikaners have reacted strongly.

Question: Since its organization, the AV has been virtually continuously accused of actually being a front organization for the conservative political parties. Would you comment on this, please?

Boshoff: Those allegations are unfounded because it is obvious that the AV is an independent movement. The AV does not deny the existence of political parties, but its creation, its working methods and its whole design testify to its independence. It is no second string on anyone's bow and nobody's servant.

Question: But the AV invited certain political leaders to its organizational meeting to act as speakers. Doesn't that give credence to the accusations involved?

Boshoff: It has never been any other way in our history. In the thirties, for example, it would have been strange to hold a large cultural rally and not invite Dr Malan there. Or in the forties not without lawyer Strijdom.

Now it could be argued that the AV made a choice when it invited speakers. However, certain political orientations distanced themselves very early on -- in fact immediately -- from the AV and publicly labeled it "unnecessary" and "contrary to the interests of the country." Hence, they did not negotiate with those people.

Question: The accusations made against the AV have once again brought the relationship between politics and culture sharply to the fore. What is your position on this?

Boshoff: Culture is the vital expression of a cultural community. A cultural community has a large number of instruments which further its interests, for example in the areas of education, economics, not to mention music and drama, the family, as well as its political instruments. They are all part of the overall cultural community. Just as what happens in the family is important, what happens among the youth and in the economy is also important. For the cultural community, events in politics are also important. Therefore it is obvious that there will be strong points of contact between culture in the comprehensive sense of the word, and politics.

That does not mean, however, that the cultural organization acts in the area of party politics to nominate candidates or formulate policy. One must differentiate between party politics and politics in the sense of the national interests of a cultural community. In that sense there was still a close contact between the cultural community of the Afrikaners and politics.

Question: The AV has now announced that it will take a position on current controversial questions when they touch the cultural community of the Afrikaners. Would you expand on that?

Boshoff: In this, the AV will be guided by its research committee to identify current problems and the manner in which one needs to respond.

Question: Can it be inferred from this that the AV will take positions over a wider front than what we have been used to in the past from cultural organizations?

Boshoff: Cultural organizations have certain goals and the goal of the AV is to let a nationally conscious Afrikaner cultural community reflect on and account for the issues of its time. Naturally, the AV will not express itself about problems which are not current or which lie within the province of another organization. We will handle those issues which are important now.

Question: A great deal of publicity was given to the recent FAK [Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Associations] congress in Oos-Londen because of the strong political undercurrents which were apparently present there. What were your impressions of that congress?

Boshoff: My impressions were formed very early on: when the congress started, I realized that the increase in the number of representatives was the result of organization with a specific purpose. One might ask then: why didn't you (the right) also organize yourselves?

Aside from the fact that this looks like a terrible race, we did not have the infrastructure at our disposal. The NP [National Party] and organizations which support it, had the infrastructure to summon representatives from every remote corner of the country to the congress. It was easy for them to make use of every opportunity to send people to Oos-Londen.

Question: Hence, party politics were very much present at the congress?

Boshoff: Very definitely. The congress had a very purposeful composition.

Question: Incidentally, it has been said that the right was actively organized at last year's FAK congress in Pretoria and that way managed to beat prominent NP supporters in the executive committee elections. Hence, the view is that the right was paid back in its own coin at Oos-Londen. What is your comment on that?

Boshoff: We definitely did not organize ourselves for last year's congress. When the representatives first arrived, the names of the candidates were mentioned and whom they should vote for, but that is all. To repeat, we did not have the necessary infrastructure to recruit representatives on a large scale.

The strong increase in the number of representatives since last year's congress also contradicts that accusation.

I would also venture to say that the average representative to a FAK congress is conservative. Hence, at a normal congress well known conservatives have a better chance of being elected.

Question: There is a strong feeling among conservatives that during the congress in Oos-Londen FAK became completely a front organization for the NP and that conservatives like yourself should withdraw from it. The AV does not need to apply for affiliation either. Your comments, please?

Boshoff: It is not right to say that FAK has become a front organization for the NP, even though the last congress was "weighted" in favor of the NP. FAK represents a large number of local organizations and bodies, and to say that they (schools and cultural councils, for example) have been taken over by the NP is not true. There are dozens of organizations whose thoughts are conservative and Afrikaner oriented, in spite of what happened in Oos-Londen.

And FAK is not a power oriented organization which can make decisions that are binding for its members either. Every cultural council is autonomous and can even associate with anyone it wants to at the local level.

Thus, FAK is really only a place to talk and therefore I will never say that it has taken on a certain character now, and therefore I will not distance

myself. The character of FAK is determined every time by those who attend congresses and by what stands are being taken.

Question: You would not have any objections then if the next AV congress were to decide to apply for affiliation with FAK?

Boshoff: No. I would also be able to confidently anticipate the motivation for such a request.

Question: Can the AV make a good case for affiliation with FAK?

Boshoff: I don't have any doubts about that. The constitution of the AV, which is being drawn up now, has all the characteristics of a sound cultural organization. Its goal is to promote the Afrikaner culture and therefore any request for affiliation should succeed.

I hope that we will not provoke a fight within the AV between those who want to be affiliated with FAK and those who don't. When the time is ripe, we must argue it through very calmly and not turn it into a controversy.

Question: The Afrikaners are currently experiencing serious political division which shows signs of becoming more intense. Is cultural unity possible under those circumstances?

Boshoff: When the people are in a crisis, it is always culture which saves them. Culture functions in an active and effective manner precisely when the people are in a crisis.

If it is true that as a people we are going toward a crisis, then it will be precisely culture which will react most strongly to it. Therefore, I expect rather more cultural involvement.

Question: Over the last 3 months, you have often been the target of a violent campaign. One thinks, for example, of the events surrounding your position at the University of Pretoria and your leadership of the Voortrekker movement. In what way did that affect you personally and what is your reaction to it?

Boshoff: The attacks came and I clearly indicated what my position is. I have never tried to avoid something.

Question: In your opinion, is the threat to the Afrikaners and their culture greater now than it was in the past?

Boshoff: Yes. Everybody wants to push us in the direction of a common society. Our approach to the distinctiveness of peoples is seen as the big stumbling block, whereas it is precisely the solution, not only for the whites but also for the other peoples.

WEAKNESS OF INDUSTRIAL ESPIONAGE LAW NOTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 16 Sep 84 p 33

[Text] Industrial espionage is not easily detected, and when it is it is usually too late to take remedial action.

There is no standard cure. The only way to tackle it is to stop it before it starts by protecting information, says Ted Rowen, group loss control manager at Irvin & Johnson.

Most industrial spying is not a criminal offence.

Mr Rowen says: "Although industrial espionage is rife in South Africa, it receives little publicity because the victims rarely complain. Either they do not know they have had their secrets stolen, or are too embarrassed to say so."

Trespass

When a victim does complain, there is little or not redress in law. The information contained in a document may be worth millions of rands to a rival company, but if a trespasser takes a photograph of it the only criminal offence would be trespass.

A thief who picks up a copy of a customer list while on a legitimate visit could only be charged with the theft of the paper. If it could be proved that he used that list to the detriment of the complainant he might be served with a restraining order. That is about as far as the law goes.

The dividing line between the ethical and the unethical, the legal and the illegal, is so fine that it is hard for even the most experienced security practitioner to draw it with any certainty.

Most courts are reluctant to define industrial espionage as opposed to legitimate business intelligence gathering, and this compounds the problem of the owner of the information and the security adviser.

There is a grey area where the legal and the illegal often overlap.

The industrial spy is into the big time. He goes for the greatest reward with the least risk. Grist to his mill is business or marketing plans, or the blueprint or formula of a product that has not yet been used by the owner.

He often intercepts it at the intermediate stage when it is still incomplete or not perfected and is consequently not protected.

This can result in the originator of an idea finding that his competitor has perfected, marketed and even protected the product before him.

Mr Rowen says: "Trade secrets are among the most valuable assets of a business, yet the victims of espionage more often than not do not take into account their own carelessness in failing to protect these assets."

Although some unethical methods of obtaining information are expensive and require considerable acumen, the commonest and most successful methods are those where the thief takes advantage of the victim's negligence.

Mr Rowen cites the false job interview, the hiring of a rival's employees to glean trade secrets from them, photocopying information left lying around, eavesdropping on conversations in or out of the office, thefts by employees with easy access to confidential documents, sifting through waste bins for carbons, matrixes, stencils, printouts, typewriter ribbons and memory discs.

People who perform a service for a competitor can be pumped or bribed and tender documents may be obtained for the sole purpose of extracting details of proposed development.

Vetting

Staff selection is an aspect that is often overlooked. Applicants for positions in sensitive areas can be vetted by companies which specialise in this activity using voice stress analyser and similar devices.

Temporary staff is frequently taken on at face value to fill positions of trust. A survey in one large company showed that in three months, temporary typists had been employed as secretaries to the managing director, the financial director, the personnel administrator and the research and development manager.

The only questions asked were, "Can you type, take shorthand, compile reports?" Two secretaries, it turned out, had gained the required experience in rival companies.

The disgruntled employee is another source of information leakage and the reason for his actions may be as obscure as the reasons for his discontent. This type of person says little about dissatisfaction, but takes the first opportunity to get back at the employer and at the same time "make a bit on the side."

The careless employee is one of the most dangerous because he doesn't even realise the damage he is doing.

Beware the loudmouth salesman--he can be more valuable to a rival than to his own company, however great he may be at selling the product.

Bugging

Methods that require more expertise and daring include tailing and surveillance, trespassing or breaking into premises, infiltrating a rival firm, boardroom bugging, photographing restricted matter, tapping, telephone, radio and telex links or computers, theft of computer discs, bribery or blackmail of employees with moral or social weaknesses.

Further up the scale of sophistication come programming of computers to spy on other computers and electronic eavesdropping devices. These are becoming the in-thing and are readily available, as is the literature explaining how to use them. To counter these devices requires equally sophisticated detection equipment.

For counter-measures to be cost effective, all information must be classified as secret, confidential or staff confidential and its value assessed before deciding what should be spent on its protection. The degree of protection will depend on the value of the information to competitors.

The more cumbersome the system, the less successful it will be. It is also important that people understand the need for it or they will not co-operate.

CSO: 3400/12

SABRA WARNS AGAINST RECALL OF KEY LAWS

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 22 Aug 84 pp 11, 13

/Article: "SABRA Warns Against Recall of Key Laws"/

/Text/ Society is presently being reshaped and prepared for the repeal of four laws that form the cornerstone of the self-determination of white people, SABRA /South African Bureau for Racial Affairs/ says in its most recent newsletter to members.

These laws are the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, the Mixed Marriages Act and Art 16 of the Immorality Act.

SABRA says that if even one of these laws is repealed, the idea of a sovereign white people in Africa will be abandoned. For example, if the Population Registration Act is removed, then it cannot be determined to which racial group a person belongs. If the Mixed Marriages Act is recalled, then population classification and group areas will become a farce. Similarly, the basis for all group separation would be gone if the Group Areas Act were to be repealed.

"This law (the Group Areas Act) is presently under great pressure. The ban on mixed marriages and immorality is now also being sharply attacked." SABRA declares.

"While the four laws are still on the books, supporters of separate development should nevertheless take note of how society is being reshaped and prepared for the complete removal of them."

SABRA says that the four laws are based on the principle of the maintenance of the identity of a nation of people in a society interwoven with races and peoples. Through differentiation and legal protection, a nation of people in just such a society does have the opportunity to hold its own and develop towards self-determination.

"Today, however, this sort of differentiation is called discrimination, even by the authorities who must enforce the laws."

SABRA further points out that the dismantling of supporting laws is already underway. Among them are the Trust and Land Act, the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, the laws concerning education, universities, labor and labor relations, security legislation and others.

"The way in which labor legislation has already been changed in order to do away with the differentiation of groups is well known; modifications have been made in education, for example, to abolish the ban on racial mixing in tertiary and private institutions; in legislation concerning the promotion of culture, preferences to whites have been removed; in the composition of statutory and other councils involved with enforcement of laws, mixing is the general practice.

"Modifications in laws which have come about over the past few years and which are being planned are pulling down the house built on the four cornerstone laws, one stone at a time. New cornerstones are being laid and preparations are being made for the construction of a new house in which integration is affirmed and legalized and the Afrikaner and other small nations of people are left unprotected," SABRA declares.

Not only the supporting laws, but also the existing cornerstones are being weakened by demands that they be repealed, SABRA says. In this way, for example, the chairman of Anglo-American, Mr Gavin Relly, argued 2 weeks before the referendum on 2 November of last year in favor of a yes-vote. Seven days after that voting, he chopped away at the Group Areas Act when he said that there is no justification for the Act on business premises.

SABRA states that the Act's power had already been eroded by permit concessions before the latest concessions with regard to business premises were announced.

The repeal of the Group Areas Act will result in an integrated South Africa in which white schools and residential areas will be as anachronistic as these things have become in Zimbabwe after Muzorewa.

"In other areas as well, the nonwhite majority here will allow itself to be dictated to just as little as majorities in Zimbabwe, Nigeria and elsewhere were prepared to do. Protection of the white living space will not be tolerated, and intrusion and ousting will run rampant and there will be no other existing law to which whites can appeal."

SABRA points out that two other cornerstone laws are also being examined at present: the Mixed Marriages Act and Article 16 of the Immorality Act.

"As was the case with sports and labor legislation, it appears that concessions, exceptions, slackening and the modification of support legislation will lead to the death of these four laws, SABRA says.

12271

CSO: 3401/135

COURT ORDER AGAINST OCTHA DIAMOND GROUP

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Sep 84 p 9

[Text] OCTHA Holdings (Pty) Ltd, a huge diamond group, was provisionally liquidated at the Rand Supreme Court on Tuesday.

This follows the provisional liquidation of one of its subsidiaries, Namex (Pty) Ltd a week earlier on September 11. Namex's liabilities exceeded its assets by R980 000.

Octha's liabilities of R12 260 714 exceeded the assets of R4 134 591. And in papers before the court the managing director, Mr Johann Abram de Villiers, said the investments in subsidiaries listed as assets would not be realised. This means the true assets are fixed assets worth R15 000 resulting in the true difference between assets and liabilities of R8 126 123.

Octha's liabilities comprised inter-company loans of R1 102 327, long-term liabilities R132 192, general creditors R519 980 and an overdraft of R215.

To the total of R1 754 714 shown on the audited balance sheet as at 31 June, Mr de Villiers said Octha also owes Volkskas R1 106 000 and

Partnership in Mining R9 400 000

As the major creditor, Partnership in Mining (Pty) Ltd supported the application for liquidation, Mr de Villiers said.

He and his family own 63 percent of Octha and also its diamond mining subsidiary Namex.

Partnership in Mining and Volkskas were also the major creditors in Namex's liquidation and Octha owes money to them as a result of suretyship signed for its subsidiary's debts.

The amounts owed to the two major creditors and the general creditors are all due and payable and Octha does not have funds or facilities to continue business or pay its debts, or any portion thereof, Mr De Villiers said. The cash on hand listed among the assets on the balance sheet was R60.

He submitted it would be in the interests of creditors for a liquidator to take control of the winding up of the company.

Mr Justice L L Spoelstra granted the provisional winding up order and the return date is October 30.

PROFESSOR TUSENIUS ACTS AS MEDIATOR BETWEEN NEO-NAZI LEFT-WING GROUPS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 16 Sep 84 p 8

[Article by Sylvia Vollenhoven]

[Text] Getting rightwing "neo-nazis" and leftwing liberals to talk calmly to each other seems impossible in South Africa.

But a Stellenbosch University professor is doing this--and more.

Professor Robert Tusenius of the university's graduate school of business has regular forums where South African students holding widely different political viewpoints get together.

"The purpose of the meetings is to discuss how we can still achieve a just, equal opportunity society by peaceful means," he said.

"I have had meetings with groups that included both people to the right of the ASB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging), neo-nazis, as well as PAC (Pan African Congress) sympathisers.

"We meet for two or three days and talk openly. New horizons open up for all these young people.

"One of the tragedies in South Africa is that we don't talk openly to each other. This country's public enemy number one is the lack of sincere communication.

"When we do talk we go round in circles, waffling in our separate ideological cages and we feel very pleased with ourselves," said Professor Tusenius.

Shock

Among other ventures he runs an inter-racial Youth Leadership Forum (YLF) and a Common South African Patriotism programme. One incident stands out in his mind.

"There was a young woman who joined YLF. She was a member of the Pretoria University SRC and the daughter of a prominent South African.

"At the meeting I noticed she was holding her knees and shaking. I thought she had taken ill with a fever or something but it turned out she was in a state of physical shock.

"Later she told me that some of her traditionally held views had been shattered. She had always spoken about blacks, but never to them. The experience was traumatic."

Professor Tusenius also promotes a leadership programme at high schools.

"If you can get through to the future leaders and encourage them to think positively, others will follow."

He said whenever he got young people of opposing political ideologies together they would initially bandy "slogans" about.

"The right will talk about independent homelands and the left about one-man-one-vote in a unitary state and a national convention.

"Then we get to talk openly and we see both sides are living in a dream world.

"They will see that we can either talk now or first burn the place up and then talk.

"Thinking blacks start to realise they need whites for a long time to come. It is interesting to see the change of thinking over the years. People are beginning to look at the rest of Africa and see the shambles.

"They ask themselves why. The reason is too much ideological talk and too little action," said Professor Tusenius.

"A problem is that it takes guts to go back to your cronies and tell them that new horizons have opened up for you because of these discussions. But many do."

Mediated

Professor Tusenius has also mediated between the Government and the various political groups in South Africa.

"When I get feedback from the young people taking part in the YLF I go to the politicians and tell them, 'You make the wars, these young people have to fight it'.

"If we can learn to understand each other through open, sincere discussions conflict can be avoided.

"So far the response from political leaders has been positive," he said.

CSO: 3400/12

REPORTAGE ON 'EXERCISE THUNDER CHARIOT'

Blitzkrieg Warfare Expertise

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 10 Sep 84 p 7

[Text] LOHATLA — South Africa has become expert in blitzkrieg-type warfare and intends getting better at it, says Brigadier George Kruys, divisional commander for Exercise Thunder Chariot.

More than 4 000 vehicles, 11 000 troops and many different types of aircraft have been banded together on and above the dusty plains of the northern Cape in the largest conventional military manoeuvres in South Africa since World War 2.

The battle was named after Biblical references to "chariots of iron".

The mock battle will be fought on the ochre-coloured plains of the P W Botha Training Area with some of the most sophisticated weaponry available in Southern Africa.

The military hardware on the battlefield will include the G5 and G6 field guns, the Olifant tank and Ratel infantry fighting vehicles.

GROUNDWORK

The exercise started on August 26 with the leadership element and other groups being called in to do the groundwork.

Full mobilisation was then started and troops rolled towards the training area at intervals from Johannesburg and Bloemfontein.

Men from 71 and 72 Motorised and Mechanised Brigades formed the vanguard on the ground, though there are also contingents from the Medical Service and Air Force anti-aircraft units.

Brigadier Kruys said at a weekend Press conference that in the past South African forces had fought and practised at combat-group level but there was a need for a divisional mechanised exercise.

The exercise had tested the integration of different schools of thought as practised by the infantry, artillery and armoured corps so that they could bind into a cohesive force.

Brigadier Kruys said methods of rationalising equipment had been introduced to cut costs and the men were called up only for the period they would be needed.

They would be using model aircraft instead of the real thing for certain ground training and anti-aircraft practice.

The Air Force has played an integral part in the manoeuvres and will play a more limited role in the final exercise which starts tomorrow and ends on Friday.

The battle for air superiority started about 15 days ago with fighter squadrons pitting their skills against each other over the northern Cape.

The friendly forces won the battle which continued for 10 days, and ensured that the ground forces could operate without being harassed by enemy aircraft.

GRAND FINALE

The grand finale will see a culmination of a number of smaller exercises in which the troops came to grips with new ideas and with upgraded or new equipment.

Show of Strength

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] LOHATLA — South Africa has issued a stern warning to possible enemies with the flexing of its military muscles in the opening phases of Exercise Thunder Chariot.

Although there were no troops or guns to offer any resistance to the offensive which started late yesterday and continued late into the night before resuming today, it showed the skill of the troops in action.

Fought on the hot plains of the P W Botha training area in the Northern Cape, more than 11 000 soldiers in about 4 000 vehicles from 7 Division swept through their objectives after accurate air strikes and artillery bombardment softened their targets.

After clearing four enemy positions on Tuesday and early yesterday, forces from 71 and 72 motorised and mechanised bri-base trenches.

"It was a spectacular sight watching the men leave the Ratels, then head for the trenches," Van der Berg said.

"Their battle drills were perfect as they went through the procedures of clearing the slit trenches, while Ratels and Eland armoured cars gave cover-fire.

"The sound of live ammunition in the attack was deafen-

ing."

In a lighter moment on the koppie overlooking the battle, soldiers told of their experiences in Angola.

A soldier told of an attack during Operation Protea in 1981 when his artillery battery had just deployed. "We were standing around when a volley of 122 mm rockets from a Stalin organ burst above us.

"We dived for cover and our chef, who was a rather rotund fellow, dived between the axles of the double rear wheels of our gun tractor.

"When the barrage was over and everyone crawled out from their hiding places there was a call for help from under the gun tractor.

"No amount of pulling or pushing could move the man and we eventually had to call in the 'tiffies' (mechanics) to free him," he said.

gades formed a pincer movement on five target areas of the "antisa" forces.

State President-elect Mr P W Botha and his entourage sat like emperors of old atop a koppie and looked down upon the men as they fought.

Out of the west, 71 Motorised Brigade swept down on two targets, while 72 Brigade engaged another two enemy positions before they joined forces to attack

the last position.

Prior to that attack, GS and other artillery pieces helped to soften the targets. Twelve jets and two bombers also pounded them.

The Star's photographer Sarel van der Berg was in one of the Ratel Infantry fighting vehicles attached to the Johannesburg Regiment, which was metres behind the first wave of infantrymen going into enemy

Forces 'Best in Africa'

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] LOHATLA — The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, yesterday described South Africa's conventional warfare forces as "the best in Africa".

He was speaking during a massive army and airforce display of firepower witnessed by the

State President-elect, Mr P W Botha, and hundreds of local and foreign dignitaries at the Army Battle School in Lohatla in the northern Cape.

"With what we witnessed yesterday we could go right through to Cairo," General Malan said.

Replying to questions, he said the war games, codenamed Exercise Thunder Chariot, had not been intended as a show of force but added that Thunder Chariot would obviously make an impression on South Africa's enemies and "make them think twice".

Asked whether the cost of the exercise was justified in the current economic climate, General Malan said the country had to pay for military preparedness. — Sapa.

Demobilization Risks

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 17 Sep 84 p 7

[Text] LOHATLHA — Getting the troops home safely from Lohatlha after a successful and fatality-free Exercise Thunder Chariot is the next major task facing Army commanders involved in the manoeuvres which ended on Friday.

There have been no deaths and relatively few injuries since the men started gathering at mobilisation points in Alberton and Bloemfontein almost a month ago.

But senior officers and observers who watched the war games on the dust bowl which forms the P W Botha training area in the Northern Cape warned of the dangers 11 000 weary men would face if they raced back to their demobilisation points.

The accident which caused most injuries happened in the final phases of the manoeuvres.

One man broke a leg, another an ankle and two other soldiers suffered fractured vertebrae when a Buffel anti-landmine vehicle overturned while negotiating difficult terrain.

THUNDERFLASH

Two paratroopers and a soldier also suffered broken bones.

A member of an SABC documentary team covering the exercise nearly lost an eye when a thunderflash threw debris into his face.

A sleeping soldier was also run over by a 16-ton Ratel, but escaped with minor injuries because his legs were pressed into soft sand.

Army commanders consider the exercise a success, although it was not without its problems.

Some troops are reported to have gone without rations for up to 72 hours. Even the field headquarters for 7 Division failed to get its supplies in the initial stages.

There were also a number of operational and tactical faults clearly visible to the expert eye.

These included tank manoeuvres which looked like parade ground drills, instead of the classic fire and movement concept in the field.

POLICE REMAIN ON GUARD IN SOWETO

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 17 Sep 84 p 4

[Text] THE police presence in Soweto will remain strong today in the face of a pamphlet campaign, launched last week, urging workers to stay away from their jobs today.

In the light of intimidation from a young group — calling themselves the Release Mandela Campaign — policemen remain on their guard in Soweto to deal with any further unrest, said SAP spokesman in Pretoria, Major Svan Rooyen.

"Workers are not breaking the law if they stay away from their jobs today or any other day, but we do have policemen on duty in the townships to deal with any unrest," he said.

Maj Van Rooyen said policemen would remain in the townships until they were satisfied that the recent riots and unrest had died down completely.

According to reports, thousands of pamphlets were distributed to homes in Soweto by the group.

The mayor of Soweto, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala — whose resignation has been called for by the Release Mandela Campaign — refused to comment on the distribution of the pamphlets.

He said the intimidation action was only paper and as far as he was concerned, everyone would be going to work.

He would not comment on his called for resignation, or the protest against higher rents, electricity tariffs and a raise in train, bus and school fees.

Meanwhile the troubled townships on the Witwatersrand remained quiet over the weekend, with only a few sporadic incidents reported.

A petrol bomb exploded at the front gate of a house in Lenasia on Saturday night, but there was no serious damage. The owner of the house doused the flames himself.

Various incidents of stone throwing in Soweto were also reported, but the gangs broke up as soon as police arrived, Maj Van Rooyen said.

PAPER APPEALS FOR END TO 'PROGRAM OF VIOLENCE'

MB311002 Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 26 Aug 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Tide of Conflict Must Halt Now"]

[Text] South Africans cannot take comfort in the escalating acts of violence that are tearing this nation apart. People have become so nervous that normal daily activities are clouded by fear, producing schizophrenic behaviour from a large section of this population.

We believe that the government has the power to turn this program of violence around. We do not believe that they are doing anything at the moment to bring about an end to the conflict that exists throughout the land. The new deal has not addressed itself to the fundamental problems which are at the centre of the conflict.

The envisaged tricameral parliament is not in our opinion, a possible solution. It lacks credibility--as was shown by the massive rejection by the Colored community in this week's election. No doubt the same pattern will emerge when elections for the Indian House of Delegates are held on Tuesday. We expect that there will be widespread stayaways.

Many South Africans, including the pro-government press, have urged them to have talks with the real leaders of the people.

They also urged them to have direct talks with the African National Congress--a step we wholeheartedly support in the firm conviction that one day such talks will become inevitable.

Why must this country go through such painful trauma before the government is bold enough to do what is essential, just and in the interests of this country's future.

We are increasingly being called on to protect the future of our children and save our land from a terrible fate. This protection and security cannot be achieved and advanced by maintaining a strong military and security arsenal.

People's determination to achieve freedom has been written throughout history as an ongoing process that will never be suppressed by using sheer brute force.

In this hour of great anxiety, we appeal to the prime minister and his colleagues to look and act in a decisive manner--for the sake of peace and justice.

ANC TO HELP SPONSOR KITSON'S LECTURE TOUR

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 Sep 84 p 4

[Text] LONDON — Mr David Kitson, former member of the Umkonto we Sizwe high command who served a 20-year jail term in South Africa, is to start a lecture tour of Britain soon.

The tour is being sponsored by his union, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, Technical Administrative and Supervisory Section, by the African National Congress and by an organisation called South Africa the Imprisoned Society.

He will speak about his experiences in South Africa, concentrating on his 20 years as a prisoner of the government he had tried to overthrow.

Not all his comments will necessarily be negative.

This week the left-wing *New Statesman* carried a lengthy interview with Mr Kitson as a prelude to his lecture tour.

At one point Mr Kitson said South African prisoners had more rights in relation to their civil society than did British prisoners.

"This is because international opinion looks at South African prisons as a measure of the state of civil liberties."

However, there was a sharp contrast between the privileges of the country's white and non-white prisoners.

Through their degree courses, the white political prisoners with him obtained the most unlikely books.

"If it wasn't written by Marx, then they didn't know it was no good ... they didn't react to names like Krautsky or Althusser or Perry Anderson."

Mr Kitson said that, somewhat surprisingly, he was allowed to start an arts course in Russian and English. However, after the first year the Russian was stopped.

By the end of their sentences, the prisoners were not suffering "exceptional physical discomfort".

Towards the end of his term, Mr Kitson found many young Afrikaners decided they could avoid military training (and be well paid in the process) by becoming prison warders.

"There was a flood of young men who did not give a damn. We used to make tea for them and share our food.

"Sometimes, after a wild night out, one of them would stagger into jail, open an empty cell and sleep all day and we would have to wake him up."

The day before his release, Mr Kitson went shopping for clothes, accompanied by two warders.

He found black shop assistants, black traffic police — and he found that they were all treated politely by whites.

"I know a lot of dreadful things go on out of sight in Soweto and the bantustans, but I was surprised by the courteous way my warders treated them."

POLICE DETENTION SYSTEM DESCRIBED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 14 Sep 84 p 9

[Text] Detention without trial is in the news again, with the Government frustrating attempts by detainees to gain release through the courts, and disclosure of the fact that detention automatically also means banning. What exactly are the Government's detention powers? These details have been prepared by the Detainees Parents' Support Committee and the Black Sash

THERE are four sections in the Internal Security Act which give the authorities the power to arrest and detain a person without going through the courts and to bypass the normal processes of law.

FIRSTLY, Section 50, under which any police officer of the rank of warrant officer and up, can detain a person for 48 hours. This can be extended to 14 days on application to a magistrate. The purpose of this Section is described as "action to combat state of unrest."

SECONDLY, Section 29, under which any police officer of the rank of lieutenant-colonel and up, can order the detention of a person for an indefinite period for the "purposes of interrogation".

THIRDLY, Section 31, under which the Attorney-General can order the detention of a person to hold him or her as a potential State witness in a trial — until the trial ends, or for six months if the trial has not yet started.

FINALLY, Section 28, the "preventive detention" provision, under which the Minister of Law and Order can

order the detention of a person, virtually indefinitely, not for interrogation, not for potential court action but simply to remove him from society.

It is Section 28, used in March this year to detain four Cradock community leaders and again in August just prior to the tricameral elections to detain 18 opponents of the elections, which we now examine in detail...

SHORT DESCRIPTION:

"Detention of certain persons in a prison in order to prevent commission of certain offences or endangering of security of State or of maintenance of law and order."

DETAINING**AUTHORITY:**

Minister of Law and Order.

GROUND:

(a) If in the Minister's opinion "there is reason to apprehend that the person will commit" a security offence.
(b) "If he is satisfied that the person engages in," promotes, or is likely to promote activities endangering State security or maintenance of law and order.

(c) If he has reason to suspect that a person previously convicted of a security offence engages or is likely to engage in activities as in (b)

POWERS OF DETENTION:

The Minister on any of the above grounds may direct that any person be detained in a prison.

DETENTION ORDER:

By means of a written notice, signed by the Minister and addressed to the member of the Prisons Services who is in charge of the prison specified.

A copy of this notice tendered by a police officer to the person concerned serves as a warrant for his arrest (although the officer can also act on a telegram from the Minister, or the knowledge that the notice exists).

The notice delivered to the person concerned must also be accompanied by a written statement from the Minister "setting forth the

reasons for the detention... And so much of the information which induced the Minister to issue the notice... as can, in the opinion of the Minister, be disclosed without detriment to the public interest."

CONDITIONS OF DETENTION:

"In accordance with the provisions of regulations made by the Minister of Justice."

PERIOD OF DETENTION:

"For the period during which the notice is in force," that is, the detention period is stipulated on the Minister's notice.

In the case of the four Cradock community leaders detained in March 1984, the period stipulated was 12 months from March 31, 1984, to March 30, 1985. For the 18 recent detainees, a six-month period was stipulated, ending on February 28, 1985.

There is nothing to prevent a new notice being served at the end of the period — as has happened to Abel Dube. He was originally detained on April 21, 1982, placed under Section 28 on November 13, 1982, for a period of 12 months, which was then renewed for a further 12 months expiring on October 31, 1984.

The Minister may also withdraw the detention notice at any time.

Thus the length of detention is totally at the whim of the Minister of Law and Order.

RIGHT OF APPEAL:

The detainee may, within 14 days of receiving his detention notice, make "representations in writing to the Minister, relating to his detention or release," and submit "any other information relating to the circumstances of his case".

ACCESS TO DETAINEE:

No person may have access to the detainee or to official information relating to the detainee, except:

- The Minister of Law and Order;
- The Director of Security Legislation;
- A judge of the Supreme Court;
- Chairman of a board of review;
- Any official in the service of the State;

However, other persons may have access to the detainee "with the consent of and subject to such conditions as may be determined by the Minister or the Commissioner of Police".

In addition, a non-listed lawyer may have access to the detainee within the first 14 days for the sole purpose of assisting him in making representations.

REVIEW BOARD:

A board of review constituted

under the Internal Security Act is required to investigate and consider the action of the Minister in detaining a person under Section 28.

The Minister must submit to the board "as soon as possible after the expiration of the period of 14 days" these documents:

A copy of the detention notice; a written statement giving the reasons and all information which induced him to issue the notice; additional relevant information which came to his knowledge after issuing the notice; copy of any written representation submitted by the detainee to the Minister; any relevant additional information the Minister deems necessary.

The board of review may then, in its discretion, hear oral evidence from any person including the detainee.

After consideration, the board must give the Minister a written report on its findings, stating whether it is of the opinion that the detention notice should stand or be amended or withdrawn. The Minister must notify the detainee as soon as possible of the board's findings and recommendations, if any.

However, the Minister need not give effect to any recommendation.

If he refuses to do so, then within 14 days he must submit to the Chief Justice of South Africa copies of all documents previously submitted to the board of review, together with the board's report and any further report he may deem necessary.

After consideration of these documents, the Chief Justice must then either endorse the Minister's actions,

or he may set them aside if he is satisfied that the Minister "exceeded his powers under the Act, acted in bad faith, or based his decision on consideration other than those contemplated in Section 28".

PERIODICAL REVIEW:

Six months after the detainee was notified of the review board's ruling, he may request the Minister in writing to submit his case to the board, specifying any changed circumstances or new facts considered a justification for the withdrawal of the detention notice. The procedure outlined above is then repeated, but with the appropriate documents.

The detainee may repeat his request at intervals of not less than six months.

The Minister may himself submit the case of any Section 28 detainee to the board of review at any time.

CONSEQUENCES:

CONSOLIDATED LIST:

The Director of Security Legislation is required to maintain a consolidated list on which he must enter the names of persons (among others) who are or have been detained under Section 28.

He must notify such persons in writing that their names have been entered. The Act does not stipulate how soon this must be done.

The Minister of Law and Order may "on good cause shown" instruct the Director to remove any name from the list. Each removal must be published in the Government Gazette, but the consolidated list itself need only be published once every three years.

RESTRICTIONS ON LISTED PERSONS:

The Minister may by written notice prohibit any listed person from becoming, or continuing to be, a member or office-bearer of any

organisation or public body specified in the notice, or from taking any part in its activities. Alternatively, the notice may impose certain restrictions in regard

to membership.

The Minister may serve a banning order on any listed person; this may involve various prohibitions, such as not absenting oneself from a specified area or from a specified place during specified hours, not entering specified places, not communicating with specified persons, not attending gatherings and not receiving specified visitors.

A listed person is disqualified from standing for election in the House of Assembly or a provincial council.

A listed person is disqualified from being admitted by the court of any division of the Supreme Court to practise as a lawyer. Any listed person already practising shall be struck off the roll, on application made by the Direc-

tor-General for Justice.

A listed person who fails to notify the police of a change of residence or employment is liable to imprisonment for up to 10 years.

Any person who quotes a listed person, regardless of where or when the statement, speech or utterance was made, is liable to imprisonment for up to three years.

CSO: 3400/12

ISRAELI DRIVE FOR RSA TOURISTS UNDERWAY

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 16 Sep 84 p 8

[Article by Barry Sergeant]

[Text] Israel is out to attract more SA tourists.

The Israeli Minister of Tourism, Avraham Sharir, said in an interview in Jerusalem that tourism was Israel's biggest foreign-currency earner and its major industry.

Israel aimed to double its annual 1-million visitors in the next few years. To accommodate the extra visitors Israel would double the number of its hotel rooms to 60 000.

SA traffic to Israel increased 30% to 12 000 in the first six months of this year compared with the same time last year.

Top Asset

Mr Sharir says: "We have no natural resources and tourism is our greatest asset. The visitor doesn't need a guide. Our guide, the Bible, was written 2 000 years ago."

The main thrust of promotion for travel to Israel by South Africans will be to stress what it has over and above its traditional role as a holy destination.

Mr Sharir lists as attractions Israel's climate, inexpensive travel, the Mediterranean ports of Tel Aviv and Haifa, Elat on the Red Sea, the Sea of Galilee resorts, and places like Masada, Caesarea, Capernaum, Jericho and Nazareth.

Spending Cuts

He believes one of the new Israeli Government's priorities will be to encourage tourists and pilgrims to visit Israel. It will also have to trim expenditure.

"But Government expenditure on tourism will, if anything, be increased. Expenditure on tourism is seen not as spending but as an investment that will be recovered."

Holidaying in Israel has become expensive because of a 400% inflation rate. If it is not soon contained, other Mediterranean destinations could become a lot more attractive than Israel.

In spite of inflation, accommodation costs have remained static in the past few years, and have even declined in some cases.

The reason for this is that hotel costs are denominated in dollars and not the shekel.

Cheapest

Mr Sharir claims that in spite of apparent high costs, Israel remains one of the cheapest holiday grounds in the Middle East and Europe.

Israel's tourism industry attracted 1-million visitors in 1981. They spent an average of \$1 000 each, giving revenue of \$1 000-million.

The average length of a tourist's stay in Israel is 22 nights, ranking it third in the world after Australia and India. Per capita income for Israelis from tourism is \$240, placing it fifth in the world after Austria, Switzerland, Hong Kong and Singapore.

Mr Sharir said the traditional marketing lure of Israel as a tourist destination, its religious offerings, is attracting more pilgrims every year. But the number of holidaymakers is increasing faster than this traffic.

Jerusalem is the world centre for members of the Christian, Jewish and Muslim faiths. Most visitors to Israel are Christians--Jews declined from 75% of visitors in 1950 to 38% in 1980.

Only 20% of Israel's income from tourism--a much lower percentage than in countries like Switzerland. This shows that many visitors come for religious reasons, or prefer to shop elsewhere where prices are more reasonable.

Mr Sharir says travel to Southern Africa will be encouraged in conjunction with the independent airline, Maof, which has inaugurated its service between Swaziland and Tel Aviv.

CSO: 3400/12

MOVES TO IMPROVE INDUSTRIAL SECURITY REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 16 Sep 84 p 32

[Text] For years, industrial security in South Africa stagnated in the backwaters of business, often isolated in its own mysterious sub-culture.

Its company reporting function was generally in some twilight zone between the production, personnel and financial disciplines.

Strategic

Graham McKenzie, national counsellor and director, responsible for training of the South African Security Association, says: "Then came certain developments which changed, and are still changing, this image."

An awareness has grown of the strategic and commercial sectors that produce the nation's wealth. People realise that these sectors could be undermined by new and violent threats--attacks on fuel installations, railway lines, power stations and transformers, government offices and police stations.

Limpet mines and the AK47, high explosives and the RPG7, signalled the arrival of modern terrorism.

Wider

There is a growing tendency to look to business management for protection of company assets and people. This has led to a wider acceptance that industrial security is part and parcel of the line management process, Mr McKenzie believes. The Government, police and military leaders say it is up to industry and commerce to put its security house in order.

Shadows

Legislation was introduced--the National Key Points Act--requiring certain installations of strategic value to conform to security measures.

A fresh approach has developed in short-term insurance--an understanding that it is not a remedy for lapses in security and poor loss control.

Mr McKenzie says: "Industrial security has emerged from the shadows and is being seen as a business discipline providing an essential service for better management and greater profits.

"Two major security threats confront South African industry and commerce.

"Firstly, industrial unrest, including intimidation, subversion and work stoppages lead to loss of production and all too often to damage to property and injury to people.

"Secondly, criminal attacks against the individual and against industrial and commercial targets have been fuelled by unemployment and inflation."

Review

He advises business managers to make contingency plans for the maintenance of trading and manufacturing, to plan for the protection of business assets and people, and to keep plant emergency arrangements under constant review.

Managers should look at their planning for emergencies in 12 stages.

--Establish an emergency planning committee and appoint an emergency controller and a news spokesman.

--Prepare site plans--one giving basic information for general use and another, fully detailed, for planning use by the emergency committee.

--Identify vital plant and services and vulnerable areas, decide means of protection and develop a plan of action. Upgrade physical security, for example, access control and guard services.

--Establish an emergency control centre.

--Decide on the requirements for emergency personnel. Select and appoint them from volunteers, assess their training needs and train them.

--Evaluate what kind of emergency communications are needed, public address system, for example, and install them.

--Work out an evacuation procedure, decide on assembly areas and which points must be protected. Carry out regular evacuation drills.

--Make sure that fire procedure fits in with the emergency plan and modify it where necessary.

--Develop specific protection plans for strikes, riots and civil unrest.

--Introduce procedures and train staff to respond to bomb threats.

--Make advance arrangements for salvage and recovery operations.

--Appoint people to be responsible for recording incidents and analysing them after the emergency.

CSO: 3400/12

TEACHERS ASSOCIATION REJECTS MOVE ON NON-RACIAL MEMBERSHIP

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Sep 84 p 11

[Article by Keith Abendroth]

[Text] THE Transvaal Teachers Association admitted yesterday it had been "seriously embarrassed" by radio and newspaper reports that the body was to take action to open membership to registered teachers of all race groups.

What did happen at the closed meeting, it was learnt yesterday, was that an amending motion was accepted on the issue — an amendment which, even if constitutionally carried out, would effectively still ensure Whites only membership of the TTA.

Significantly, another motion on non-racial education at the meeting was soundly defeated by 52 votes to 20, with 18 abstentions.

Senior teachers said yesterday "Leftwing elements" in the TTA were clearly out of touch with rank-and-file membership of the association.

A TTA spokesman confirmed the amendment had been passed and a motion calling on the TTA to declare its committal to the principle of non-racial education rejected.

She said that the amending motion had in fact called on the TTA executive to consider changing the association's constitution to admit as members teachers in the Transvaal who were registered with the official State-backed registering body. And the only body in this category is the exclusively SA Teachers Council for Whites.

This clearly meant that even if the constitution were amended only Whites would still — at this stage — be admitted as members.

Furthermore, the official said, any constitutional change would have to be put to the full 4 000 strong membership of the TTA and passed by a two-thirds majority — and then only at the next annual meeting of the TTA in a years time.

Many members of the TTA are strongly conservative and in any case the TTA is committed to slow and careful change.

Many TTA members see the provincial committal by the TTA executive to April's teacher unity charter — which promotes integrated edu-

cation — as a wrong move.

In fact, at the weekend annual general meeting of the TTA it was decided to continue negotiations with the other races' body, Joctasa, towards unity — but not on the basis of the charter.

The vice-president of Joctasa, Mr Franklyn Sonn, warned in April this year English teachers associations would soon have to decide between membership of Joctasa and the all-White Federal Council of Teachers Associations.

He branded as "schizophrenic" any White teacher associations who thought they could belong to both bodies.

Prominent teachers commented yesterday that "well-known Leftwingers" in the TTA were completely out of touch with rank-and-file members of the TTA.

CIVIL ENGINEERING CONTRACTS AWARDED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 Sep 84 p 16M

[Text] New civil engineering contracts totalling R108 million were awarded last month, but with only one of them exceeding R10 million.

The SA Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors (Safcec) was provided with the details of 80 contracts after the tenders for these projects closed.

Nearly all the work involved is to take place during the rest of this year and 1985 and very little extends into 1986.

Among the contracts awarded by the National Transport Commission was a R2,9 million project for the construction of interchange

ramps and other roadwork in East London.

The only new provincial road contract was for three bridges and 11 km of roads near Northam, (NW Transvaal) under a R5,7 million, 16-month contract.

The largest contract of the month was for a 2,8 km single track railway tunnel and adjacent earthworks at Mpolweni on the coal line between Vryheid and Ulundi (R11 million), over 33 months.

(The realignment and doubling of a further section of the coal line in the same area, at a cost of R7,7 million, will also take place).

As usual, there were

several new township contracts in August for civil services such as roads, stormwater drainage, water and sewerage networks.

The Department of Posts and Telecommunications has awarded a R4,3 million contract for work required for the new interprimary optical fibre trunk cable between Durban and Volksrust.

Two sizeable contracts for the mining industry were the extensions of residue and slimes dams and related stormwater drainage at Vaal Reefs, Orkney and the construction of a reclamation plant at Western Deep Levels.

CSO: 3400/12

RSA COMPANY WINS AUTOCLAVES ORDER

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 16 Sep 84 p 13

[Text] A South African company has won a R6-million contract to design, supply, install and commission three autoclaves to Homestake, the American gold-mining company, as part of the process plant. Cost of the whole project is expected to be \$200-million.

After test work on gold-bearing ore from the new McLaughlin gold mine in California, APV Kestner of Wynberg, Johannesburg, will install the autoclaves, which are used in gold extraction.

The McLaughlin orebody has a 2% to 4% sulphide content and a refractory gold content of 6gm a ton. Conventional cyanide leaching was unsuitable without pressure oxidation by the autoclaves.

The mine is designed to treat 3 000 tons a day, and with a surface deposit will be mined by open-pit methods.

The sulphide is oxidized to sulphuric acid by the addition of oxygen in the autoclave to pressures up to 2 400kPa.

Each autoclave is 4,3m in diameter and 21m long and weighs 385 tons.

Californian law demands that imported plant must comply with an ASME audit. Although many South African companies build to these specifications, none has been accredited. As a result the autoclaves have to be constructed in Germany from the South African designs, and then shipped through the Panama Canal to San Francisco.

The body of the vessel was made at Salchen in Bavaria and lined with lead in the Netherlands. The acid-resistant bricks were made in Bonn, and installed on site by German bricklayers.

To carry out the test work a 200l titanium autoclave system was built and installed in APV Kestner's mixing laboratory in Wynberg. The autoclave operates at a temperature of 200C and a pressures of 1 800kPa, and in the case of the McLaughlin ore had a slurry of 50% and 20gm a litre of sulphuric acid.

CSO: 3400/12

DEVELOPMENT BANK APPROVES CISKEI PROJECT LOAN

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Sep 84 p 20

[Text] The Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA) signed its first loan agreement yesterday for a project not transferred to it by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.

The R3,5-million loan to the Ciskei People's Development Bank is for part-financing the infrastructure for a labour intensive garment industry at Fort Jackson near East London. The loan has been guaranteed by the Government of the Republic of Ciskei.

Total investment cost of the Disa Garment investment project is R8,9-million, and the entire production is intended for export to the United States.

At the signing ceremony, Dr Simon Brand, chief executive of DBSA said the loan agreement marked a special milestone for the DBSA as it

was the first to be signed for a project which had been appraised and negotiated by the DBSA.

The agreement is expected to be followed by others soon. Since April, the DBSA's Board of Directors approved appraisal reports for 30 projects and technical assistance loans to the value of R188-million.

Agreements for these loans to the Bank's participating states are currently being negotiated.

Eleven of these loans are for industrial, five for infrastructural and 14 for agricultural, urban and rural and manpower development projects.

STUDENT POLITICAL INTEREST ON RISE AT RAU

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 12 Sep 84 p 7M

[Article by Susan Fleming]

[Text] Students at the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU) are increasingly becoming politically aware, says the university's incoming Students' Representative Council (SRC) chairman, Mr Frank Kilbourn.

In an interview the 23-year-old student leader said students were becoming aware of political realities in South Africa.

"Students have become particularly concerned about the plight of the urban black. In previous years students never bothered about urban blacks," he said.

Mr Kilbourn described RAU as young and dynamic, adding that its location in Johannesburg was its greatest asset.

"RAU is fairly new, and long-standing traditions found in other universities are not so firmly entrenched.

"Students are not merely walking in their fathers' or uncles' footsteps--they are making their own history."

Mr Kilbourn, who has served on the SRC for the past two years, said the Afrikaanse Studente Bond (ASB) was very strong on campus.

Describing the ASB as a cultural organisation with no particular political stand, Mr Kilbourn said he had held the ASB portfolio while serving on the SRC last year.

Left-Wing

"Although the ASB does not have a political stand, it does try to educate students about the political situation in South Africa.

"The ASB used to be a very conservative body, but it is becoming quite left-wing.

"These days most of the members are National Party supporters, rather than not followers of the Conservative Party," he said.

A fifth year law student who comes from a farm in the district of Coligny in the Western Transvaal, Mr Kilbourn agreed that Afrikaner students were not as radical as many of their English-speaking counterparts.

"They are much calmer about political change than students on English campuses. It is not our style to be radical," he said.

He added that the ASB had met members of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

"It would be nice if we could have good relations with Nusas, but our approach to South Africa's problems is so different that a relationship of this nature would be difficult."

As the new SRC chairman, Mr Kilbourn said, he would try to promote political awareness among RAU students without influencing their viewpoints.

Curfew

The SRC had an educative role and he said he hoped to promote better relations between students of all racial groups.

"Apart from developing a more politically aware campus, we will obviously represent the students on certain issues."

Last year Mr Kilbourn fought to extend curfew hours for women students.

Second-year students had to be in their residences by 8 pm on weekdays. They are now allowed out until 10 pm.

CSO: 3400/12

NEW ANTHRACITE MINE TO OPEN IN KWAZULU

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Sep 84 p 21

[Text] TRANS-Natal Corporation, a member of the Gencor group, is to open a new anthracite mine in KwaZulu at a cost of about R86-million, it was announced yesterday.

The mine, which will come into production in last quarter of 1985, will be able to produce about 875 000 tons of anthracite a year, the bulk of which will be exported.

According to a statement from Gencor's projects manager (coal) Mr J Bigham, the mine will be developed through one of Trans-Natal's subsidiaries, Usutu Koolmyne.

The new mine will be situated 48 km north-east of Ulindi. The anthracite reserves will be exploited by underground mining methods and will support a mine with a lifespan of about 22 years.

The bulk of production — 700 000 tons a year — will be exported and the remainder will go to the domestic market.

It is estimated that the mine will supply job opportunities to about 600 people.

Trans-Natal has been granted an export allocation of 1,5 million tons a year of anthracite in Phase 3 of the Richard's Bay expansion programme.

No mention is been made of finance arrangements, but as with the Optimum export project,

the bulk of the expenditure will probably be financed by overseas loans, depending of course on developments in the exchange rates and interest levels here and abroad.

The new mine will boost Trans-Natal's income following the sale of Hlobane to Iscor after a dispute between the two companies on the supply of coking coal.

COOPERATION OF RAILWAYS URGED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Sep 84

[Article by Janine Stein]

[Text] CO-OPERATION between all railway services in Southern Africa was essential for better understanding, higher traffic flow, and increased revenue which would contribute to the economic development and growth in the region, the General Manager of SA Transport Services, Dr Bart Grove, said yesterday.

Speaking in Johannesburg at the meeting of representatives from railway services in seven Southern African countries, Dr Grove said the most important achievement of the morning's discussions had been the establishment of two committees to investigate in detail the broad problems presented.

The first committee would look into the technical aspects, while the second would deal with the operational aspects of the railways.

They would then report to the annual meeting of the head committee which will be held in September next year.

Delegates from the seven countries present on the first day of the three-day conference yesterday were from Zimbabwe, Zaire, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Swaziland and South Africa.

"Our own traffic volume has gone down considerably in the last couple of years, and while it is picking up once again, it is important to iron out all problems as quickly as possible," Dr Grove said.

Another topic discussed yesterday was technical improvement, as well as the standardisation of procedures, equipment and documentation between the countries.

Although the meeting dealt with the topics on a broad base, Dr Grove said the two committees would deal with the details at their meeting in March.

The establishment of a central clearing house to deal with the revenue collected by various systems was also discussed.

Dr Grove said this was necessary to cope with the complicated procedure for transactions originating in one country and crossing over the borders into other countries.

Tourism between neighbouring states was not discussed.

Two railways which were present at previous annual meetings in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe and Blantyre, declined the invitation from the SATS to attend the meeting in Johannesburg. They are Benguela Railways in Angola and Tanzam in Tanzania.

"We are hoping in the future everyone will be present," Dr Grove said.

Yesterday's meeting marked the fourth gathering of Southern African Railways general managers after a 21-year break because of "Ideological and political differences," Dr Grove said.

The Southern African contingent will visit various South African railways installations today and tomorrow. These include the Metroblitz to Pretoria and various container terminals, as well as the Iscor Vanderbijlpark works.

2,000 STUDENTS RANSACK UWC OFFICES

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 18 Sep 84 p 2

[Text] CAPE TOWN. — About 2 000 University of the Western Cape students took over the administration building and ransacked the office of the Registrar of Finance, Mr J H C Stassen, after a mass meeting on the campus yesterday afternoon.

Some students threw documents and books through the window of the office, on the first floor.

Mr Stassen was not on the campus at the time. The students demanded the immediate dismissal of Mr Stassen because, they alleged, he had given information to the Security Police during last Friday's demonstration on the campus and in front of the university.

A curfew, coupled with strict on-campus regulations following student boycotts, was introduced at the University of Fort Hare yesterday.

A notice filed by the registrar, Mr H P de Goede, said a curfew would be enforced from 9 am to 6 pm every day and that students would be required to carry their identity cards at all times and

to produce these when asked to do so by university officials. No mixing of sexes in residences and loitering would be permitted.

Students could, however, continue with normal academic and administrative activities, the order stated.

"As there has been no change in the situation on campus, I regret that I have no alternative but to take the steps." The regulation would be effective immediately and until academic activities have returned to normal, Mr De Goede said.

Asked to comment, the university public relations officer, Mr Norman Holliday, said the curfew was not being imposed because it was a standing rule.

The students, who have stayed away from lectures since September 7, have stated the reason for doing so was the poor quality of university food.

However, Mr Holliday said student leaders had indicated to the administration in the past year that their stayaway had been called as a mark of sympathy for victims of the recent unrest in the

Vaal Triangle and for the observance of the seventh anniversary of the death of Black Consciousness leader, Steve Biko. — Sapa.

BLACK TOWN COUNCILLORS GO INTO HIDING

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 12 Sep 84 p 11

[Text] Most black town councillors on the Reef are in hiding.

In the aftermath of the unrest that left four councillors dead in the Vaal and others on the run, most councillors have been difficult to trace.

Twenty-nine other people died during the anti-rent increase protests.

The Star has been able to trace some councillors, however.

The Mayor of Dobsonville, Mr Don Mmesi, whose home and shop are under police guard, said it was the function of police to protect property and people, and that what they were doing was normal.

A mayor who declined to be identified said: "I would not like to comment. The minute you comment they come and bomb your house. The quieter the better."

A receptionist at Alexandra Town Council said the mayor, the Rev Sam Buti, was away. He would be back on Monday.

Efforts to contact the Mayor of Soweto, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, were unsuccessful. His home is guarded by West Rand Development Board policemen.

The secretary of the Mayor of Daveyton, Mr Tom Boya, said Mr Boya was away in the Transkei.

The deputy mayor of Daveyton, Mr Joe Tau, said he viewed most of the destruction as motivated by personal jealousy rather than politics.

"I find that your enemies who have been lying low suddenly join in the whole thing and come for you.

JEALOUS

"One is inclined to think they are jealous as they can't acquire what you have."

He said most councillors had worked hard to acquire their businesses long before they became councillors.

The family of Vosloorus councillor Mr S Jukudo said he was away in Venda.

A kwaThema councillor, Mr HH Ngakane, said he always informed his supporters about developments in the council, and hence was not affected.

Mr Ngakane said: "By killing the councillors, the people are committing suicide.

"They are not killing the councillors; they are killing themselves. They must pinpoint the enemy. A councillor cannot be an enemy. He is a father."

Mr Ngakane said people led the councillors into their present positions by electing them into office.

Asked if township councils had any mandates from the people they claim to represent considering last year's low polls under the Black Local

Authorities Act, Mr Ngakane retorted: "We have other organisations around here with no mandate. Why do people not destroy them?"

An indication of the fear among councillors is the heavy life insurance taken out by the Soweto City Council.

The life of Mr Tshabalala has been insured for R100 000. Other councillors were insured for R50 000 each.

It was established yesterday that another Vaal councillor, Mr J Chakane of the Lekoa Town Council, died in hospital after being brutally attacked by a mob outside his Sebokeng home last week.

According to a spokesman for the Sebokeng Hospital, Mr Chakane never recovered consciousness after he was admitted to the intensive care unit of the hospital.

The other councillors who died in the unrest were: deputy mayor of Lekoa Mr Sam Dlamini, who was hacked, Lekoa councillor Mr Leburu "Dutch" Diphoko, who was stoned, and an Evaton councillor, Mr Caesar Montjeane, who was stoned.

Mr Mmesi said Mr Diphoko would be buried in Evaton today. Mr Diphoko was killed by a mob who attacked his home and shops in Evaton. He died in hospital last week.

ESCAPED

None of the other murdered councillors has been buried.

Mr Esau Mahlatsi, the Mayor of the Lekoa townships of Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Bophelong and Boipatong near Vanderbiljpark, and Zamdela near Sasolburg, narrowly escaped death when he was attacked outside his house last week.

All the Vaal councillors' houses and businesses were destroyed in the unrest.

Word has been spreading in the Vaal townships warning residents to stay away from the funerals of the councillors, but arrangements are under way for the weekend mass burial of the 29 other people who died during the disturbances.

CSO: 3400/12

'WAR-WEARY' WHITES WANT RSA-SWAPO TALKS

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 14 Sep 84 p 5

[Article by Patrick Laurence]

[Text] War-weariness among young men has contributed to a "remarkable shift of opinion" in the white community towards direct negotiations between South Africa and Swapo, Professor Deon Geldenhuys says in a major study released yesterday.

Nearly 51% of whites today favour direct talks, against under 38% in 1982, Prof Geldenhuys, of Rand Afrikaans University, says in a survey of white attitudes on foreign policy.

The survey, like a similar one conducted in 1982, was commissioned and published by the Institute of International Affairs.

The swing towards negotiation with Swapo is manifest throughout the various strata of white society and is even evident among Rightwing political parties.

In the ultra-rightist Herstigte Nasionale Party the percentage of members favouring talks rose from less than 25% in 1982 to nearly 44% today, an increase of about 19% in two years.

Similarly large increases were reflected in the ranks of men generally (17%) and among young men between the ages of 16 and 24 (19%) in particular.

"What makes these findings so important is that men do compulsory military service, which commonly involves a stint in the Namibian war zone," Prof Geldenhuys says.

"National servicemen are nearly all in the 16-25 year age category during their two-year training."

Prof Geldenhuys offers three explanations for the change:

--"War-weariness" among white South Africans;

--"Legitimisation" of direct negotiations with the hostile forces, as evident in South Africa's dealings with Mozambique and the Nkomati Accord; and

--Pretoria's increasing emphasis on the cost of the war against Swapo.

Of war-weariness, he says: "Although South African loss of life has been small compared to Swapo's, the protracted war has extracted its toll from white South Africans in terms of casualties and the hardship and disruption to the community caused by military duty in the Namibian operational area".

But, Prof Geldenhuys cautions, war-weariness should not be equated with lack of confidence in South Africa's ability to win the war against Swapo militarily.

Nearly 75% of whites disagreed with the statement: "South Africa cannot win a military struggle against Swapo in the long run."

Confidence in South Africa's capacity to defeat Swapo on the battlefield is particularly strong among Afrikaners (82%) and supporters of the National Party (81%), Conservative Party (82%) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (more than 90%).

"For them, talking and fighting may not be mutually exclusive options," Prof Geldenhuys comments.

"Thus they may argue that South Africa can negotiate with Swapo from a position of strength and could wring concessions from the organisation."

CSO: 3400/12

PLAN TO FORM 'BOERESTAAT' FOR WHITES

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 Sep 84 p 11

[Text] THERE was no moral justification for the existence of the Republic of South Africa and serious consideration should be given to re-drawing the boundaries of the country, Mr Robert van Tonder, chairman of the Boerestaatscommittee, told The Citizen.

"South Africa in its presently constituted form is a concoction of 15 race groups who have been thrown together hotch-potch by Lord Milner early this century."

South Africa as it was governed today was not politically viable and the fact that certain race groups did not enjoy full citizenship rights smacked of imperialism, Mr van Tonder said.

"If we want to regard South Africa as one country, then all who live in it must be regarded as South Africans with full political rights."

"It is eminently unfair to mete out discriminatory treatment to certain population groups."

It was for these reasons that the Boerestaats Committee, launched an advertising campaign this week to promote the restoration of the former Boer Republics of the Transvaal, Free State and Vryheid and their unification into a modern Boer state, Mr Van Tonder said.

"Special pamphlets have been printed and these will be distributed in newspapers circulating in the areas of the old republics."

Mr Van Tonder said that the Boerestaats Committee was not a political party and was concerned not with colour but with culture.

"Our culture, historic and legal claims on our former states, which incidentally were internationally recognised in the last century, are just as irrefutable as the Jews' claim on Israel."

Any person who identified with the aspirations of the Boers could be regarded as a Boer.

"During the Anglo-Boer war Irishmen, Scots, Americans, Russians, French, Greeks, Hollanders and Scandinavians fought under the Vierkleur for the Boer cause."

For this reason Mr Van Tonder does not foresee any difficulty for present-day immigrants to identify with Boers if they wished to do so. Nor does he feel language will be any barrier.

"The reason why many immigrants today choose English in preference to Afrikaans is because they have a choice. But in a Boer state Afrikaans will be the official language, just as immigrants to America have to speak American."

Although Afrikaans will be the official language, learning three languages will be compulsory at school.

"With English being the only 'foreign' language taught at schools, we have become linguistically isolated. Schools should offer a Bantu language in addition to English, Russian, Japanese, Spanish and French, so that we can have better communication with the outside world."

As the accent of the policy was on culture and not on colour, Blacks who remained within the boundaries of the Boer state would be allowed to stay on, Mr Van Tonder said.

"But it will mean that the Boers will be the major population group in the country, unlike the minority group today, and will at least have a chance of survival."

BLACKS CALL FOR END TO TOWNSHIP CARNAGE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Sep 84 p 3

[Text] THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) yesterday called for an end to the "carnage and anarchy" that they say has taken place in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State this week.

A spokesman for Azapo said that the recent call for a stayaway from work applied only to Monday this week.

"Therefore, the carnage and anarchy that took place on Tuesday and which is reportedly still continuing, cannot be condoned and its perpetrators cannot also be absolved from blame," the statement said.

The spokesman said they called on "the people to desist from witch hunting and harassing one another in pursuance of personal and misdirected sectarian interests."

"We want to point out that such actions only delight and please the enemy," he said.

"The struggle of the people should not be allowed to fall into the hands of opportunists who exploit and capitalise on the people's genuine anguish and legitimate aspirations," he said.

The situation in Johannesburg's troubled townships, in particular Soweto, was "a lot better" yesterday following a string of incidents on Tuesday involving arson, looting and stoning of buses and policemen.

Tearsmoke, rubber bullets and sjamboks were used repeatedly to disperse unruly mobs.

A man was slightly injured when police used birdshot to disperse a crowd of some 200 youths who stoned them in Naledi, Soweto, yesterday afternoon.

Only three other incidents of stoning were reported by late afternoon.

A spokesman for the Putco bus company said services had again been pulled back, with buses running only to the Moroka police station and Baragwanath. A full bus service had been provided in the morning.

Buses were still being stoned even though police protection was being provided in certain sectors.

Lieutenant B F van der Walt, of the SA Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria, said only two incidents of stone throwing had been reported in the Soweto area yesterday afternoon. But police

had used tearsmoke, birdshot and rubber bullets to disperse stone-throwing youths in the morning.

Police were also stoned in Orlando in the afternoon and fired birdshot to disperse about 150 people. No arrests were

made nor property damaged. Lieut Van der Walt did not know if anyone had been injured.

Putco buses have had about 200 windows, at a replacement cost of R80 each, smashed by stone throwing mobs over the past few days.

The combined death toll in Soweto and the rest of the Vaal Triangle's Black areas has risen to over 50 since unrest started nearly three weeks ago. — Sapa.

BRIEFS

UNIVERSITIES TOLD TO ELIMINATE UNREST--Stellenbosch.--The Minister of Cooperation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has warned university authorities to discipline or eliminate people disrupting campuses for political motives. Addressing the congress of University public relations officials last night, he said that a heavy responsibility rested on university authorities to ensure continued and unhampered access to study facilities for those students who took their studies seriously. "Unruly elements are undermining the effectiveness and usefulness of one of the most expensive public services available to our young people at very considerable cost to the taxpayer. A stage has been reached when a responsible Government, together with thousands of taxpayers, must ask itself seriously if it can continue in an unqualified way to make available vast investments in high level manpower in facilities and institutions if they fail to take serious and effective steps to discipline those of their members who undermine the very reason and cause of their existence, being the education of human potential." [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Sep 84 p 9]

HARDER TIMES FOR YOUNG FARMERS--Cape Town.--The Minister of Environmental Affairs and Fisheries, Mr Sarel Hayward, said the present difficult financial situation demanded good management, financial discipline and planning from the country's farmers. Officially opening the new headquarters of the South Western Co-op at Mossel Bay at the weekend, Mr Hayward said farmers should also cooperate by working through their agricultural co-ops. Young farmers coming into the industry were finding it difficult to meet the high financial standards that successful farming demanded and this was contributing to the depopulation of the rural areas. Co-ops served a valuable service as links between the farmer and State and by creating job opportunities, Mr Hayward added.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 17 Sep 84 p 11]

COAL WORKERS VOTE TO STRIKE--Black mineworkers at Dehva Colliery near Witbank, yesterday voted in favour of strike action at the mine. The General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaposa, said that 344 out of 383 mineworkers had voted in favour of strike action, with 27 voting against. There were 12 spoilt papers. Earlier a spokesman for Rand Mines said that about 1 000 workers had been expected to cast their votes as a result of the failure of the NUM and the management to reach agreement on wage increases last month. The NUM had asked for a 40 percent basic salary increase following a management offer of 11,3 percent. Mr Ramaposa told THE CITIZEN that

no date had been set for the strike. Another strike ballot is to be held on Tuesday at Rietspruit Colliery, where 1 200 workers are employed. This also follows failure of the NUM and management to reach agreement on wage increases last month. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 22 Sep 84 p 2]

MINES BACK TO NORMAL AFTER UNREST--The miners strike unrest, in which seven died and 89 were injured, is over. Mines in the Transvaal and Free State, which were ravaged by strikes and riots over the past three days, yesterday reported the situation "back to normal". About 99 percent of the day shift at the Hartebeesfontein Gold Mine, south west of Johannesburg, had returned to work after three days of unrest, a spokesman for Anglovaal, which controls the mine, Mr Ray Moore, said yesterday. Rioting miners, who stoned mine security officials and gathered outside a hostel arming themselves with branches off trees on Wednesday evening, had calmed down and no further incidents had been reported. Mr Moore said the thousands of strikers who stayed away on Wednesday had been threatened with dismissal, but had returned to work yesterday. The Western Areas Gold Mine near Westonaria was also quiet with all miners back at work. No violence was reported since Wednesday's rampage which left seven dead, 89 injured and extensive damage to mine property. A spokesman for Johannesburg Consolidated Investment, Mr David Rowe, said they were working on the results of two days of negotiations with representatives of the different shafts. A spokesman at the Western Holdings Mine in Welkom said everyone was back at work, and the unrest was over. SAP headquarters in Pretoria said no incidents were reported yesterday. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Sep 84 p 3]

CISKEI DETAINEE HOSPITALIZED--East London--A political detainee in Ciskei, Mr Godfrey Shiba, has been admitted to the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital in Mdantsane, the Ciskei police Press liaison officer, Colonel Avery Ngaki, has said. Colonel Ngaki said he was unable to give details of Mr Shiba's ailment. Mr Shiba is a former East London branch chairman of the South African Allied Workers' Union, which is banned in Ciskei. He was detained on August 30. Colonel Ngaki said that Miss Priscilla Maxongo, who was detained in July, was also recently admitted to the hospital. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 15 Sep 84 p 7]

CATTLE DISEASES CONGRESS--The first of several hundred veterinary experts due to arrive within the next few days to attend the World Cattle Diseases Congress, flew into Jan Smuts Airport yesterday from Paris. This will be the first time that the congress, which takes place every four years, is to be held in South Africa, according to the organiser, Dr Issy Bacher. A large French delegation of 44 experts, arrived yesterday. The group said they intend to relax on a short vacation in Cape Town before the congress, which starts in Durban on Monday. Some 170 specialist papers are expected to be heard at the congress. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 14 Sep 84 p 1]

CSO: 3400/12

NORWEGIANS MAY CANCEL AID IF MISMANAGEMENT CONFIRMED

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 13 Sep 84 p 5

[Article by Einar Kr. Holtet: "NORAD [Norwegian Aid Directorate for Development Aid] Considers Pulling Out of Zambia Project: Intended to Aid Farmers--Backing Businessmen Instead"]

[Text] The Department of Development Aid is considering terminating further Norwegian support for a special village development fund for Zambia. The reason is that the fund, which is backed by 21.8 million Norwegian kroner, is not being used in the manner which NORAD assumed it would be. Instead of benefitting small farms and industries in rural villages, most of the fund is used as project-credit by businessmen in Lusaka and other large cities. "NORAD had little experience when the agreement was made in 1976," says department head Steinar Skjaeveland.

A result evaluation was undertaken during the fall of last year, and the evaluating committee's report is now at hand. The report clearly shows that the Zambia development fund has not been an effective means of aiding development in the villages. The emphasis has been on providing credit to large-scale agricultural projects and to more or less successful "industrial projects"--including three bakeries in southern Zambia.

These are businesses which do not increase the availability of food, but instead render the population more dependent on imported wheat.

Nor do the projects which have received financial support, including 10 large commercial agricultural operations, provide any significant increase in the number of jobs which are available. They are capital-intensive operations which require the importation of additional goods into Zambia--machinery, spare parts and fuel. This will lead to further deterioration of the country's already weak balance-of-payments in and of itself, according to the report.

No money from the fund has been used for the construction of housing, or to assist in the cultivation of agricultural cooperation. According to the report, these are target areas which the fund should have been used for. If the fund had been used to these ends, a meaningful contribution to the development and increased productivity of the villages would have been made.

According to AFTENPOSTEN's understanding, there are regulations which apply to the loans which NORAD has made. The village development fund is administered by Zambia's development bank, but the fact that the fund is not being used to help villages to develop in no way violates these regulations.

"Wasn't NORAD familiar with the regulations when the agreement was made?"

"Yes, but experience has shown that the regulations were not specific enough. We wanted the fund to reach the small farmers in particular, but the regulations were not specific enough for us to achieve this. It is very difficult to reach the small farmers with credit," says Department of Development Aid head Steinar Skjaeveland. "The fund has been used to some extent to extend credit to the villages--by means of isolated projects--but we have had no way of reaching the small farms."

"Nevertheless, the agreement was extended in 1982, and the last installment of the appropriation was paid (6.8 million Norwegian kroner). Haven't we had any supervision of this money?"

"Yes we have," replies Skjaeveland, "but we have experienced how difficult it can be to actually reach the people we wish to help."

8954

CS0: 3639/160

DIFFICULTIES ARISING DURING TRANSITION TO 'SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM' DISCUSSED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 5 Sep 84 pp 6-8

[Text]

That **Robert Mugabe** will introduce enough state intervention to qualify as 'scientific socialism' is a virtual certainty. The question has always been how gradually the state and the party would intercede and take over, and whether, or after how long, parts of his political economy would be radically changed, even reversed, if economic output fell critically. Some would argue that Mugabe is prepared to see a further heavy fall in overall output in order to achieve what is considered a sufficiently narrow range of personal income. Gone are the days when free marketeers thought Mugabe believed in a mixed economy.

But the quantum leap towards scientific socialism will be expensive. Gross domestic product fell 3% last year and is falling faster this year; inflation is at least 30%; the government debt service ratio is 30% and growing; accommodation with the IMF looks unlikely in the short-term; and the drought persists. Rain will not be a panacea for everything. Above all it will not reverse the nose-dive in the manufacturing sector, which can be expected to shrink by at least a third during the next five years. Medium and small-sized manufacturers are shutting down all over the place, especially in Bulawayo. Though the scale of manufacturing was inflated during UDI above its natural level, the real problem now is the vicious circle of the financial squeeze: too few badly-needed imported inputs, stagnant domestic markets, and no investment - above all no foreign investment.

Aside from the difficulties of implementing scientific socialism, economic management does not look promising, whether it be for a free market economy or not. Finance minister **Bernard Chidzero**, generally considered by business and moderates as 'pragmatic', looks overwhelmed. The opinionated **Enos**

Nkala, politburo member and minister for national supplies, is chairman of the politburo finance committee.

Bereft of finance, the state cannot afford to nationalise loss-making industry. At present there is no money to finance even relatively small requests to meet the short-term needs of new 'resettled' farming ventures - an explosive issue because of the 20,000-odd unemployed ex-guerrillas whose ZD185 monthly demobilisation pay has now ended. So state intervention will probably start by the setting up, for example, of a national import board to oversee and sanction all imports. Such umbrella organisations, though catastrophic if run badly, are easy to establish. How the introduction of scientific socialism could progress thereafter is most uncertain, primarily because the form of socialism talked about by Mugabe will impinge drastically on private commercial farming, upon which the economy will depend increasingly as manufacturing and industrial production declines.

Most established farmers today, in the circumstances, are not doing badly. The tobacco sales have been excellent, this year's cotton crop promises to be a record 260,000 tonnes, and the ministry of agriculture has announced a maize price of ZD 180 a tonne, effective 1 April 1985 - up from ZD 140 this year. **Dennis Norman**, the agriculture minister, has tried to assure farmers that increased input costs (fertiliser, fuel etc.) will if possible be reflected in producer prices. However, it is very clear that neither the politburo nor the cabinet will feel much urgency to review favourably prices of crops like cotton which are doing so well now. Lack of all but short-term planning breeds in an economic crisis. Costs will spiral, not least because Zimbabwe will have to buy vital imports, such as oil, on expensive short-

term credit. (Simon Muzenda, the deputy prime minister, was recently in Kuwait to discuss primarily, it seems, the purchase of oil from the *Kuwait Petroleum Corporation* on 90-day credit – terms which Zimbabwe's SADCC partner, Angola, cannot offer).

At least the state of insecurity in Matabeleland is not that important for overall agricultural output: farmers there produce no more than 10% of national output at the best of times. As worrying from the security point of view – though for different reasons – is the fiasco of land resettlement – a task which was always recognised as extremely difficult. Of the 2.8m hectares bought by the government, about 2m hectares have been settled – by about 30,000 families. Given that there is obvious scope for much better use of vast tracts of communal lands, there is clearly no need to purchase more land. And, as the Manicaland political supremo, Edgar Tekere, is saying, there is every reason for the government to take a tough line against squatters sitting on land that otherwise could be productive. The biggest problem, however, as already noted, is the lack of money and the inability to start off on farming careers the thousands of ex-guerrillas who have formed cooperatives, with high expectations. By the end of the year the last batch of 6,000 former guerrillas will have had their last ZD 185 pay packet. There are no jobs in industry and there is no money from the government, the *Agricultural Finance Corporation* or other sources to start them off. It is estimated that cooperatives need about ZD 50m to finance their immediate inputs – fertiliser, seeds, machinery, fuel etc.

Most astonishing, especially to the agriculturally ambitious yet thwarted ex-guerrillas, is Mugabe's apparent insistence that there are *not* thousands of unemployed comrades from the *chimurenga*, waiting, frustrated, for something to happen. The cooperative movement's newspaper, *Vanguard*, reflects bitterly on their fate, and numbers. It is scant consolation that there are about 50 large-scale black commercial farmers.

After the Congress comes Code

However, few major policy decisions can be expected until after the general elections next March. Following the ZANU congress last month (AC Vol 25 No 17), Mugabe and his closest aides have rapidly set about laying the groundwork for further changes in the party élite. A number of ZANU potentates in the politburo and the central committee will almost certainly be forced out or demoted before the end of the year. The key instrument for the surgery will be Mugabe's 'leadership code'. Four broad points on this score should be noted:

- 1) Corruption in the higher ranks of ZANU and government has become rife. The trial of businessman Sampson Paweni on charges of bribery and embezzling several million dollars of aid money is popularly regarded as the tip of the iceberg. A number of politicians could be indicted. And the government would be doubly embarrassed if any of the misappropriated funds is proved to have gone to the MNR guerrillas in Mozambique. Mugabe is therefore under immediate pressure to counter public doubts about the propriety of the whole government and party apparatus.
- 2) Mugabe clearly wants a more ideologically committed politburo and central committee. The leadership code is still being worked out – in theory by a central committee sub-committee – but will have to circumscribe greatly the assets of 'leaders' lest Mugabe lose a lot of face in public. To the alarm of many senior figures, Maurice Nyagumbo (who has the wide-ranging job of politburo administrative secretary and minister of state for political affairs and provincial development coordination) has wasted no time in publicising and making a key issue of the forthcoming code. Forms will have to be filled in by all, and Nyagumbo says the party apparatus and its informers will discover false information. Transfer of assets to nominee holders will not be allowed. It will lead to practical difficulties. For example, the volatile Dr Herbert Ushewokunze, a Durban-trained doctor whose brief includes party ideology, is expanding his profitable and well-run medical clinics in Harare and Bulawayo; the security chief, Emmerson Munangagwa, has recently bought a farm; others have bought into commercial interests. In fact, with the exception of Mugabe and a handful of colleagues, very few senior figures will be able to avoid asset disposal. Nobody is likely to match Mugabe as an idealistic, puritanical theorist.
- 3) Partly because of Mugabe's aloof idealism, there is no real inner circle within ZANU and nothing representing a kitchen cabinet. And as the voting by delegates to the ZANU congress showed, the present ZANU élite imperfectly reflects popular preference: Edgar Tekere won at least 4,000 votes at the congress; and Eddison Zvobgo, minister of legal affairs, appears to have come second only to Tekere. (Nyagumbo and Enos Nkala, operate increasingly in tandem, and played an important part in the selection of the politburo). Tekere, the arch-populist, and Zvobgo, the ebullient, sophisticated operator, remain the two most ambitious and well-placed politicians outside the politburo. Mugabe, intellectually as dominant as ever, thus has neither a smoothly working team at the top nor the benefit of nationally popular figures such as Tekere through whom he could probably both coopt more Ndebele/Kalanga support and assuage the increasing numbers of disillusioned former guerrillas.
- 4) There is an obvious danger that Mugabe, in the effort to put together a close-knit team at the top, will further isolate himself from objective and reliable reporting of the affairs of state. With an economic squeeze and the restrictions on personal assets implicit in the leadership code, the political élite will have an overriding incentive to retain power.

By the end of October registration for the common roll (for non-white voters) is due to end, probably even if not all eligible voters have registered. The 'constituency delimitation' committee, charged with drawing the boundaries for the new constituencies, will then have to present its recommendations to the prime minister's office in time for the selection of parliamentary candidates and the setting up of polling and counting procedures.

Two pre-electoral assumptions can be made: in most cases only those with ZANU party cards will

be allowed to register, and the delimitation committee will draw the constituency boundaries to the maximum advantage of ZANU. The two main criteria for mapping out workable constituencies are population and land area. On that basis the Ndebele/Kalanga, accounting for about 20% of the population but inhabiting perhaps 25% of Zimbabwe's total area, should receive about 20 constituencies – the number of seats at least nominally held by ZAPU.

However, the registration process will almost certainly avoid enfranchising a large percentage of Ndebele/Kalanga. (Continued security problems in the south are a genuine obstacle to registration). And areas of concentrated ZAPU support could sometimes be diluted by lumping them together with areas of ZANU strength. Following the military operations in Matabeleland earlier this year (AC Vol 25 No 8), ZANU was able to coerce a lot of local ZAPU committees to defect en masse to ZANU. ZANU has more opportunity for 'tactical' triumph in the south than is commonly realised. ZAPU could end up with only about 10 seats.

Though many Ndebele/Kalanga will remain loyal to ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo, he has a bleak political future, let alone any prospect of even a ministerial post without portfolio. The ZAPU/ZANU committee, composed of three parliamentarians from each party and charged with discussing unification of ZANU and ZAPU, no longer has a real mandate. (Given that the ZANU representatives were Nyagumbo, Munangagwa and Zvobgo, ZAPU stood little chance). Mugabe clearly feels no need to negotiate with a progressively weakening opposition. The first test of ZANU's organisation in the south will be Bulawayo's municipal elections around the end of October. At present ZAPU controls completely the city council.

ZANU/government policy to the Ndebele/Kalanga region now appears to be based on three tactics:

- That the best way of gaining support is to organise at the local level and pump in government money where possible rather than make any political accommodations with ZAPU.
- That the military operations conducted in the south by the North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade and units from the similarly trained Presidential Guard (the Sixth Brigade) have been far too rough. Neither brigade has any unit in the south now, and a decision has been taken to retrain the Fifth and give its commander, Brig. Parence 'Black Jesus' Shiri, a lower-profile job. Though arbitrary arrests and detention by the Special Branch, CID and CIO is bound to continue, widespread terrorizing of the local population is unlikely to reoccur – partly because the Fifth Brigade is out and partly because ZAPU's back is now broken.
- The armed dissidents will eventually fade away on the grounds that they have negligible support among the local population, no coherent organisation, no workable links with a political front (ie. ZAPU) and hence no prospect of success.

Southern security

The dissident question, however, is an uncertain one. There appears to be three strands to it:

- Former ZIPRA guerrillas. A few never accepted ZANU's 1980 election victory and never joined the national army. In 1982, during the first army onslaught in Matabeleland when Nkomo fled to Britain, up to 5,000 ex-ZIPRA men deserted from the national army (AC Vol 23 No 24). Some of them went to Botswana and Zambia, some straightaway began hit-and-run attacks against Shona, Ndebele 'traitors' and whites in Matabeleland.
- Former members of Bishop Abel Muzorewa's *Pfumo re Vanhu*, dozens of whom were infiltrated from at least three bases in northern Transvaal in South Africa. Zimbabwean security confirmed that South Africa had largely disengaged from such destabilisation by January this year. But since then there have been a number of positive sightings of heavily-armed guerrillas moving north from the Botswana border areas. Some of them were probably launched from or by South Africa.
- Young Ndebele/Kalanga men, without previous guerrilla experience, who were recruited from Matabeleland during and after the 1982 army operations there.

Most are undoubtedly angry at being 'sold out' by Nkomo's political ineptitude and are determined to stop ZANU from assimilating the Ndebele/Kalanga. Though some of the dissidents have become bandits without objectives, there does appear to be something of a strategy. Whites have had several non-violent encounters with dissidents during the past few months. Those guerrillas forming more organised resistance have said that they will avoid alienating whites or local civilians, though locals who collaborate with ZANU are still targets. One aim is probably to organise themselves enough to disrupt significantly ZANU's electioneering machinery in next year's general elections.

Because of the uncertainty of sightings of dissidents, it is hard to evaluate either movements or numbers. Generally it seems dissidents are moving from southern Matabeleland – or through the region from Botswana – in an arc, crossing the Bulawayo-Wankie railway around the Umguza forest area (there has been at least one encounter recently with dissidents at the *Forestry Commission's* camp at Sawmills), moving eastwards onto the midlands plateau area before tailing off northwards to Lake Kariba. In June a senior ZANU official in the Midlands, Celestine Jongwe, was killed by dissidents near Kwekwe.

The Greys Scouts, still based near the airstrip at Plumtree, and under the command of Col. Fitzgerald, perform the most important role of patrolling the border areas. But despite their efficiency and the comparatively good reputation they have with locals, the Scouts make little contact with the dissidents. Three months ago about 20 well-armed dissidents were seen walking quite openly by the Plumtree-Francistown railway.

Obviously it is vital that Zimbabwe establishes a

better understanding with Botswana. However, in the circumstances it is difficult: Botswana has started its multi-party, democratic election campaign. President **Quett Masire**, leader of the ruling *Botswana Democratic Party*, is defending himself vigorously and frankly against the left-wing and minute *Botswana National Front* led by **Kenneth Koma**. Though the latter is to the right of Mugabe, Zimbabwe's socialism is held up by Masire as the living proof of the fate that could be Botswana's if Koma had his way. Thus the ceremony at the end of last month in Plumtree, where Masire and Mugabe jointly opened a microwave link, was spirited yet hollow. The Ndebele/Kalanga-populated refugee camp at Dukwe, near Francistown, is undoubtedly still a source of dissidents. In the above circumstances Mugabe will not be able to persuade Masire to repatriate its inhabitants.

Nkomo himself is most unlikely to have any active links with the dissidents, whose leadership, indeterminate as it is, has never been revealed. If any one top ZIPRA figure commands respect from them it is **Dumiso Dabengwa**, the former political commissar of ZIPRA who resigned from the national army in August 1981 shortly before being detained. Following the release this week of Muzorewa after a lengthy period of detention, some observers believe Dabengwa could soon be released. Tough conditions would undoubtedly be attached if he were.

The other security problem, critical to the economy, is the continuing battle between *Frelimo* and the MNR in **Mozambique**. Two or three ZNA companies are still headquartered at the Maforga pumping station on the oil pipeline to the east of the Cabora Bassa dam. ZNA-escorted convoys of trucks crossing Mozambique's Tete province from Zimbabwe to **Malawi** continue to encounter quite regularly MNR guerrillas. And ZNA contingents escort and patrol the railway from Mutare to Beira. A constant problem for ZNA is that nobody can tell the difference between the MNR and *Frelimo*: both are equipped equally badly.

Within ZNA itself the most important decision recently is the planned retraining of the Fifth Brigade. Since its first deployment over two years ago the brigade's military effectiveness has been questionable. The intention, presumably, is that the 50-strong British Military Advisory and Training Team (BMATT) will assist the retraining, which will probably take place in batches at the Battalion Battle School at Inyanga - where the North Koreans originally trained the brigade. The Korean-trained Presidential Guard, (under the command of Col. **Nyika**), is even less effective than the Fifth Brigade. A decision might be made in due course to phase it out altogether.

The Inyanga school, which is assisted by half a dozen **British** officers, has a high percentage of ex-ZIPRA instructors - largely because ZIPRA, unlike ZANLA, was trained in the art of conventional 'formed battle' practice. The school, under the command of Lt-Col. **Colin Moyo**, a former senior ZANLA commander, has so far experienced very little ZIPRA-ZANLA antagonism. The prospect of having a highly politicised and exclusively Shona-speaking brigade pass through Inyanga is a little daunting. Possibly the modicum of in-house retraining done by the brigade earlier at Mbala Mbala has taken off the roughest edges. The Inyanga process takes sections through the gamut of standard infantry combat training before working up through company to battalion-scale exercises.

There now remains in Zimbabwe only about a dozen North Korean instructors, based at Bindura and elsewhere, training Zimbabwean instructors for the militia. Only in extreme cases would the militia be used in combat. (Last month 388 Korean-trained militiamen were passed out at the Zhombe paramilitary training camp). Apart from being a militarised and politicised wing of ZANU, the militia's more practical function is to relieve the ZNA of non-combative guard duties.

The 40-odd **Chinese** weapon and artillery instructors continue to train ZNA at Perseverance Mine. The Chinese are regarded as highly competent and business-like. Like BMATT, their non-political approach is regarded by ZNA as unusual though most welcome. Apparently the only problem is that Chinese directional bearings are given the opposite way round to the western way - which could lead to a misunderstanding.

The other major foreign training component remains the **Pakistani** airforce trainers (AC Vol 24 No 16), headed by Air Marshal **Azim Daudpota**, who is likely to stay on as head of the airforce for some time - certainly much longer than the year originally envisaged.

The integration of ZIPRA and ZANLA continues to be remarkably successful, and is now advanced enough to allay earlier anxiety. The main focus of attention in the immediate future will probably be on the ZNA's senior commands. Brig. Shiri's transfer and possibly the transfer of another brigade commander will be keenly watched to see if the balance of two ex-ZIPRA and three ex-ZANLA brigade commanders is maintained. The deputy army commander, Lt-Gen. **Jewan Maseko** (ZIPRA), fulfills doggedly his duties.

The placing of army commander Gen. **Rex Nhongo** on the politburo has in theory brought the army into political decision-making. Though some military observers regard Gen. Nhongo as a key

figure in the politburo, he is likely to take a back seat. Munangagwa will presumably dominate the discussion of security issues. Possibly there was some worry at the top of ZANU that the army would get out of touch with the party's aims. Early this year there does appear to have been a half-hearted and possibly drunken attempt to formulate a coup plan.

The home front

Certainly there has been concern over the transition effect of independence on the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO), which should have a crucial input to decisions taken at the highest level. Following the resignation of **Derrick Robinson** as acting CIO director-general, the acting head has been Mr. **Matewere** a friend of Mugabe's and a former teacher. We understand that **Dennis Stannard**, a long-serving white CIO officer and former departmental director, might be made director-general in due course. Stannard provided Mugabe with valuable intelligence in the immediate post-independence period, reportedly enabling Mugabe to escape at least one assassination attempt. Even before the fall of **Ian Smith's** regime, Stannard had very close links with Munangagwa and Mugabe. (The South Africans, believing Stannard would assist in springing two people from a Zimbabwean jail, contacted him some time ago, not realising how close he is to

Mugabe). At one stage it seemed that **John Marwema**, who worked closely with Munangagwa, would become director. For several months he has been studying at Cambridge University in Britain, presumably still on CIO's payroll.

Mugabe obviously wants good intelligence, especially since the party apparatus tends to produce yes-men who rarely report objectively. With this presumably in mind, a learned committee, including intelligence *éminences grises*, has spent some time preparing a report on how the CIO should be structured, on which foreign intelligence agencies it should partly base its structure, and with which foreign agencies it should maintain close cooperation. It appears that the only non-West European service to have an active bearing on the CIO's development is that of the **Yugoslavs**, who earlier supplied at least one senior officer for CIO training.

We also hear that the long-time CIO director-general under Smith and immediately after independence, **Kenneth Flower**, is frequently back in the CIO head office on a consultancy basis. His presence is probably useful in the Mozambican context, especially now that possible diplomatic initiatives between the MNR, *Frelimo* and interested parties requires detailed background. (AC Vol 23 No 15 for a detailed account of Rhodesian involvement with the MNR). In the next issue we will examine recent developments in Mozambique ●

CSO: 3400/14

MOST SPLINTER UNIONS TO MERGE

Harare THE HERALD in English 19 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] Almost all splinter unions have now agreed to merge and their registration will no longer be cancelled, the secretary-general of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, Cde Abisha Kapfuma, said yesterday.

In an interview with THE HERALD, he said out of six industries represented by splinter unions, only one, the motor trade industry, still had problems.

All splinter unions had been given to the end of August to merge and told that failure to do so would lead to their registration being cancelled. The ZCTU would also urge the government to refuse to register any union after the deadline.

"There has been a positive response from splinter unions since this announcement and almost all of them have either approached or written to us to say they are prepared to merge.

"Because of this tremendous response, we have now changed our attitudes and strategy and would like to accommodate as many unions as possible."

Cde Kupfuma said the ZCTU was now working out a schedule to give the unions convenient days for merging.

However, the few which had not indicated any intention of merging have been given to November, after which they are liable to have their registration cancelled.

The ZCTU was taking very strong action against splinter unions and those which decide to remain apart would not participate in the national union's biennial congress in November.

This meant, said Cde Kupfuma, that the unions would not be able to contribute their ideas to the organisation's plan or to discuss the problems affecting their industries.

Factually we wouldn't like to see a situation where some unions have their registration cancelled as we would like to accommodate every union. We hope we shall receive the appropriate cooperation from the unions," he said.

Cde Kupfuma said the major factor delaying the unification of splinter unions was that some of them were being financed by international agencies leading to factions between the related unions.

In some cases, he said, it was a problem of power whereby some union members stalled a merger because they wanted to be the leaders.

A few months ago the Minister of Labour, Manpower, Planning and Social Welfare, Dr Frederick Shava, said the government was no longer going to entertain any audience or discussion with a national union not affiliated to the ZCTU.

"We would like to warn splinter unions that machinations of the international community in terms of provision of financial resources will always be a carrot before them. It will always be a divisive element among them."

CSO: 3400/24

JAPAN SENDS DRILLING TEAMS TO MIDLANDS

Harare THE SUNDAY MAIL in English 16 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] The government has launched a 115-borehole programme for the Midlands with the assistance of a \$4.4 million outright grant from the Japanese Government.

Under this project Japan has provided two high-speed drilling rigs, complete with associated equipment. Drilling started in Shurugwi last week and will move to Takawira (Chilimanzi), Runde (Lundi), Mazvihwa and Mherengwa.

Launching the scheme at Mpangayi Secondary School in the Shurugwi communal area on Friday, Water Resources and Development Minister Cde Cephas Msipa said his ministry had selected areas badly hit by drought.

The Japanese aid has a training component. While the Japanese experts will be working on drilling the boreholes in the province between now and March next year they will train officials of the ministry in the operation and maintenance of the equipment, "so that we can eventually use it ourselves."

Cde Msipa told THE SUNDAY MAIL that while the 115 boreholes would not meet all the water requirements of the people in the province, they would go a long way towards alleviating the effects of the drought.

He said that last year nearly 400 boreholes were drilled in Masvingo Province under an EEC emergency programme and that from next month work would start in Mashonaland on drilling an estimated 400 boreholes under a Norad water supply programme.

The launching of the drilling scheme in the Midlands, Cde Msipa said, represented the successful culmination of "the whole process of investigation, negotiations and planning leading up to the execution phase. It comes at a most appropriate moment, when our country is in the middle of one of its most serious droughts."

Cde Msipa told the Japanese Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Mr Seiken Sasaki, who was at the launching of the borehole drilling scheme, that for his ministry the equipment and expertise that would be transferred represented "a major increase in our capability for future work of this kind."

He thanked the Japanese ambassador and the drilling experts saying that for some people in the province, it would be their first taste of potable water.

Mr Sasaki said his country's aid to Zimbabwe now totalled nearly \$40 million.

TOUCH NEW ROAD CONTROLS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Sep 84 p 12

[Text]

HARARE. — Tough new controls on drivers and operators of heavy transport vehicles and buses come into force today with the gazetting of emergency regulations designed to curb the carnage on Zimbabwe's roads.

Stiff mandatory minimum sentences for both drivers and operators of heavy vehicles and buses are set out in the Emergency Powers (control of omnibuses and heavy vehicles) regulations.

Massacres

"Over the last year or two we have had some accidents that can only be described as massacres.

The toll continues to rise," the acting Minister of Transport, Mr Eddison Zvobgo, said.

The government had concluded that enough warning had been given and with the new stiff penalties "any bus operator, any bus driver literally takes his own life into his own hands if he does not obey the law which will be gazetted."

Dr Zvobgo, who is the Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, said he would meet his judicial officers to emphasise that stiff sentencing was expected.

Under the new regulations, a driver convicted of speeding will be jailed

for a minimum of six months; for overloading a bus the driver will be sent to prison for a minimum of six months for each extra passenger carried, or fined R310, or both, and the operator will get the same minimum prison sentence or a fine of R620 or both.

Minimum

For driving a defective vehicle, a driver will serve at least 12 months and his employer will get a minimum of two years or a R6 250 fine, or both.

Two years jail is the minimum sentence for both the driver and the operator if the driver is drunk in charge of the vehicle, and both will get a

mandatory of 12 months imprisonment at least if the driver drinks at all within twelve hours of taking a vehicle on the road.

Reckless driving carries a minimum two years for both the driver and the operator and negligent driving 12 months for both.

So far this month there have been eight bus crashes in Zimbabwe in which 53 people have died.

On September 2, 41 people were killed and 60 hurt in a crash on the Harare-Masvingo road — and since then seven other buses have been involved in accidents in which 12 people have died and 14 have been seriously injured.

In the latest accident — on Monday — a Musani company bus overturned when its front tyre burst, police said.

Twenty-four passengers escaped unhurt, and two injured were taken to Mount Darwin Hospital where their condition is said to be satisfactory.

CSO: 3400/9

COFFEE CROP WORLD'S THIRD

Harare THE SUNDAY MAIL in English 16 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] Zimbabwe is now the world's third largest producer of coffee, the Minister of Agriculture, Senator Denis Norman, said yesterday.

Officially opening the Manicaland Agricultural Show at the Mutare showground, Senator Norman said farmers from the province had captured five of the six main prizes at the Harare Agricultural Show and that this illustrated the high standard of management shown by farmers in the province.

Coffee deserved special mention because despite limited water and a shortage of pickers the crop was proving excellent.

Overall there were pleasing results from the work of the producers of coffee, tea, the increased production of small crops like deciduous and sub-tropical fruits, nuts, pro-teas and an increased interest in viticulture.

Senator Norman said, however, that because of the reduced water reserves in the province, there had been a substantial decline in winter wheat plantings.

He said that the area of the greatest agricultural potential lay within the communal lands and the communal farmers.

"It is therefore with great delight that I noticed during the present season that 1,000 farmers have qualified for their Master Farmer certificates and a further 3,000 are now undergoing training."

His observation, he said, pointed to a farming success story in the province, but stressed that this had not been achieved without considerable effort, determination, frustration and heartbreak, "and also high financial risk by many farmers and their dependants."

CSO: 3400/24

COOPERATIVE FARMING NEED FOR SUPPORT ILLUSTRATED

Harare THE HERALD in English 20 Sep 84 p 6

[Article by Shakespeare Johnson]

[Text] Zimbabwean cooperative farmers have sustained serious blows from the three-year drought, but their determination is to make their farms viable points to a bright future if the government and other industries cooperate and support it.

The kind of support, and the rate at which it is given are going to determine the success of the cooperative movement.

Cooperatives existed before independence in the rural areas of Zimbabwe but they were largely of the marketing service nature. "Collective cooperatives" were introduced after independence, and the two types of cooperatives coexist in the country today, although many of the service cooperatives that folded during the Chimurenga war have not been revived.

There are 259 registered agricultural production cooperatives in the country and they are officially known as collective cooperatives. The establishment of cooperatives throughout rural Zimbabwe is part of the government's resettlement programme being carried out by the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development.

Cde Fletcher Chasi, an assistant training officer for the Mashonaland East Province in the Department of Cooperatives explained the differences between the service and the collective types of cooperatives.

"The means of production in a service cooperative are individually owned, while the means of production in a collective one are collectively owned by the members of the cooperative.

Backbone

"But in both types of cooperatives, rewards for the work done--which are commonly known as profits in other economies--are shared equally or distributed according to a cooperative member's work input, and are in this case known as patronage bonuses."

The purpose of establishing agro-industry cooperatives in Zimbabwe is not merely to create a patronage bonus system for workers but mainly to develop the agricultural industry--the backbone of our economy--and to create jobs and boost the country's production capacity.

In that spirit the Department of Cooperatives recently conducted a three-week training exercise for its provincial staff who are going to participate in a two-year education campaign in which cooperators throughout the country are going to be taught the mechanics of running a cooperative establishment; management, accounting, marketing, transportation and loan-securing systems.

The department's training officers will also write monthly reports to the department on the performance of the cooperatives, said Cde Chasi.

Although Dr Langford Chitsike, secretary for Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development, recently applauded the performance of cooperatives in general, he also pointed out that all cooperatives generally suffered from insufficient capital, poor management and lack of skilled technical personnel.

Simukai Collective Cooperative Farm, 41 km south of Harare, is one of many cooperatives that illustrates what, how, when and from whom cooperative development support should be coming.

Brainchild

Simukai is a 1,760-hectare farm run by 73 members, 34 of them women.

The farm is the brainchild of eight former combatants of the Chimurenga war. The farm, already developed on commercial lines by its former owner, was bought on public auction for \$120,000, and 50 percent of that amount was a loan from the Agricultural Finance Corporation and the other 50 percent was raised by the cooperators from their demobilization pay.

The administrative structure at Simukai shows the general form and shape of the cooperative establishments will adopt, since most existing collectives lack planned administrative structures and management skills.

There is at Simukai, the administration department which runs security, stores and supplies, medical and welfare organisation, communal kitchen feeding and the educational programmes of the cooperators. The marketing department sees to the selling of the farm's produce.

There is the livestock department which organises the poultry, piggery and sheep teams. A cattle project has not yet been established at the farm. The business department has four teams which run the farm's general dealer store, the bar, the grinding mill and the crafts section.

Irrigated

The cropping department runs three teams which comprise of the field, garden and engineering sections.

One half of the hectareage at Simukai is arable land, but because of the drought only 16 acres of the arable land is under cultivation, and all of it irrigated by water from the nearby Nyatsime River. Seven acres have maize and nine have vegetables.

The Simukai collective cooperators sell some of their vegetable produce to residents of Seke communal area which runs along the farm's border from the northwest and all the way to the east. Some of the vegetables are sold to other cooperatives in the city of Harare.

One of the two water pump engines that irrigate Simukai was donated to the farm by Fepa, an organization in Switzerland.

Cde Johnphany Tshabangu is secretary of the Simukai Collective Cooperative Farm. He pointed out another reason—outside the one of drought—why the Simukai arable land was under-cultivated:

"Our water problems are not restricted to the drought situation alone. We have a shortage of water pipes and sprinklers for our irrigation system. And while we have six boreholes on the farm, only one of them is in working order and that is where our domestic water comes from."

Cde Tshabangu pointed out some of the major problems the cooperators are experiencing: "Some people from neighboring areas are coming on to our farm to cut down trees which they go and sell in town as firewood. Others cut up our boundary fences and lead their cattle on to our land to graze.

"We have taken the matter to the district administrator of the people involved and we have also reported the matter to the Department of Cooperatives. We are awaiting a ruling.

"We also have a shortage of housing for the cooperators, most of whom are still using the old compound, so that we have had to freeze recruitment of more cooperators.

Strain

"While we still owe the AFC \$80,000 we are also finding it difficult to secure loans to purchase basic farm operational equipment; we have only two tractors and only one of them is fully equipped for ploughing; we have only two cars, a land cruiser, and a pick-up truck for which we have no parts. This kind of situation puts a strain on our transportation system.

"Despite the lack of finance for our projects, and considering that we have had to purchase almost everything for cash from our hard-earned money--and at times having to go for as long as eight months without our cooperative-stipulated \$30 a month allowance per member--we are determined to make our cooperative a success."

This determination at Simukai can be seen in the progress the cooperators have made in some areas.

For the 1983-1984 harvest they sold 32 tonnes of maize and four tonnes of soya-beans to the Grain Marketing Board.

"Every two weeks," said Cde Tshabangu, "we have a visit from an Agritex official who helps us with cropping and farm planning advice. We appreciate that very much.

"Our motorised equipment is serviced by one of our members who attended a three-month crash course in Lomagundi recently. We have just put up a new general dealer store building--we bought the bricks--and we received assistance from the Zimbabwe Project Organisation in the form of builders, free of charge."

The Simukai cooperators intend to set up a welfare department. In the meantime they have a member who is a trained first-aid worker, who now has the duty of seeing to the minor injuries and illnesses of the cooperators.

Teachers

The children of Simukai's cooperators attend school in Seke communal area. However, there is an adult education programme at the farm. The Zimbabwe Project has provided the cooperative with two teachers to help in the adult education programme. Two other teachers are members of the cooperative.

Simukai has at present a flock of 45 sheep. Cde Tshabangu said the farm could expand the sheep-breeding project but could not do so at the moment since such a project would require them to graze the sheep on irrigated pastures for special feeding.

Simukai cooperative sold 80 plgs to Colcom Central Cooperation Ltd, Harare, last year. It has also contracted with an Harare hotel to supply 150 chickens a week.

Cattle pens have been built at Simukai and the cooperative is awaiting recommendations from the Cold Storage Commission to begin cattle programmes.

Cde Tshabangu said: "When we get the recommendation from CSC we plan to begin with 300 cattle and to put 100 on a fattening programme."

Cde Tshabangu echoes the plight, perhaps, of all agricultural cooperatives, and perhaps, in general, of all cooperatives registered after independence:

"We appeal to the government to find a way of providing cooperatives with equipment such as tractors and to organise banking and marketing systems for cooperatives. Cooperatives could stand on their own from there and become a viable sector of the national agricultural industry."--Zimpapers Feature Service.

CSO: 3400/23

CANADIAN WHEAT FOR DROUGHT RELIEF

Harare THE HERALD in English 20 Sep 84 p 5

[Text] Canada has given Zimbabwe 6,000 tonnes of wheat which the Grain Marketing Board will swop for 7,200 tonnes of maize to be used in drought relief.

The wheat, which arrived in Zimbabwe last week, was presented to the Christian Care organization by the Canadian Food Grains Bank.

Under the swop deal Christian Care will get maize worth about \$1.3 million to distribute in its drought relief programme and the GMB will keep the wheat.

Speaking at a handover ceremony yesterday, a representative of the Food Grains Bank's Mennonite Central Committee, Ms Laura Loewen, said her organisation wished to help ease Zimbabwe's bread shortage and help with rural drought relief.

"We would not have sent wheat to Zimbabwe if there was enough wheat. We do not have white maize in Canada. So on behalf of the committee and the CFGB this is our gift during the current drought in Zimbabwe," she said.

Ms Loewen said the Mennonite Central Committee and the Canadian Food Grains Bank, which comprised six church organisations in Canada were working very closely with Zimbabwe's Christian Care and appreciated its work helping people in drought stricken areas.

The national treasurer of Christian Care, Cde Gaylord Kambarami, said the wheat had come at a time when it was scarce in Zimbabwe and praised the MCC and CFGB for their quick response after a plea was made in June this year by the executive officer, Cde Valentine Ziswira. Cde Ziswira went to Canada on a food campaign tour.

However, Christian Care faced a shortfall of three months of food as the wheat exchanged for 7,200 tonnes of maize would only last until February next year.

Cde Kambarami said the maize, expected to feed 108,000 people at 10 kg a person, would be drawn from various GMB depots throughout Zimbabwe.

Said Cde Kambarami: "There is now an agreement with the Department of Social Welfare for Christian Care to provide maize, beans and salt to resettlement schemes in Inyathi, Filabusi, Chiwundura, Chibi North, Mukamba near Rusape, Wedza South, Karamba and the Zambezi Valley.

"In addition, supplementary food will be provided on the recommendation of the Ministry of Health and the logistic assistance of the Nutrition Department, to pre-school children in Buhera, Zambezi Valley, Zvishavane and Plumtree districts. About \$300,000 worth of food will be moved monthly."

CSO: 3400/23

FARM SWELLS PARTY COFFERS

Harare THE HERALD in English 18 Sep 84 p 3

[Text] A ZANU income generating project, Jongwe Farm in Acturus, delivers about 1,700 litres of milk to the Dairy Marketing Board daily, the farm manager, Cde Charles Songore, said in Harare yesterday.

There are 100 Friesland dairy cows on the 900 ha farm, 30 km from Harare, and the milk turnover is \$140,000 per year.

The farm was bought by the party in 1980 and when Cde Songore took over the management of the farm in 1982, there were 75 dairy cows.

"The major problem we are facing at the moment in the dairy section is finance, because we intend to increase our dairy herd," Singore said.

Turning to the crop section Cde Songore said the farm had about 400 ha under crops, 20 ha under green peas, 10 ha under rape seed, another 5 ha under green beans, 15 ha under sugar beans, 40 ha under soya beans and the rest under maize.

From the crop section, the farm hopes to net \$200,000 this year. "This year we hope to send a total of 8,000 bags of maize and 4,000 bags of soya beans to the Grain Marketing Board."

The farm manager hoped that the project would soon be able to raise enough money to drill more boreholes and also to buy pipes to put the whole cultivated land under irrigation.

Apart from the dairy cows, the farm also has a small beef herd, a few pigs and a small flock of sheep, said Cde Songore.

ZANU has five other farms: two in Mashonaland East, one in Manicaland, one in the Midlands and two in Matabeleland.

CSO: 3400/23

AGRICULTURE MINISTER URGES RESEARCH ON COMMUNAL LANDS

Harare THE HERALD in English 18 Sep 84 p 3

[Text] Zimbabwe's farming research, and the research of other SADCC countries, should be concentrated on the communal areas where most people live, says the Minister of Agriculture, Senator Denis Norman.

Communal areas had been neglected and exploited for too long and, with the drought, this had resulted in vast areas being denuded of grass, causing severe livestock losses and erosion.

The minister was opening a forum jointly sponsored by SADCC countries and the International Development Research Council of Canada. The week-long workshop has enabled scientists from 16 countries working in the field of pasture research to exchange information.

"It is to these communal areas which must sustain the vast majority of our people and their livestock that our urgent attention must be directed," said Senator Norman.

Zimbabwe had already launched a farming systems research team largely financed by the International Development Research Council to examine communal agricultural systems with particular reference to livestock production.

He said Zimbabwe's pasture science was second to none in Africa.

CSO: 3400/23

BLOCKED EVICTION OF SQUATTERS HAILED

Harare THE HERALD in English 17 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] The speedy intervention by a Cabinet Minister to halt the eviction of 5,000 squatters from state land near Karoi has been praised by a local village headman, Cde Rixon Chigumbura.

The Minister of Local Government and Town Planning, Cde Enos Chikowore, at the weekend over-ruled a decision by the Karoi District Administrator, Cde Edward Ndoro, to clear the families from the land.

Cde Chigumbura, who is the village headman for Magunje about 21 km from Karoi and prospects for gold at the Songalala mine on the state land, said the squatters, had been in the area since 1980, and many had made formal application for resettlement soon after their arrival.

He said not only had they been told to leave the land they were ploughing for this season's crops at very short notice, but they had also been ordered to close down the two primary schools and the local stores.

Some of the families, said Cde Chigumbura, had cleared as much as 6 ha of land for their farming, and most had built themselves brick houses, so a lot of work had already gone into developing the area.

If the people had been forced to return to their communal lands now, it would be two years before they became self-sufficient in food again, and would be dependent upon government handouts till then.

How were they going to move all their cattle back to their communal lands in Masvingo and Midlands provinces, and what would they do with all their maize which they were now drying and which had yet to be bagged for delivery to the Grain Marketing Board? he asked.

Cde Chikowore had said in his statement he had ordered the squatter committee to stop the eviction of all squatters on state land because there was "some confusion that has to be settled."

All squatters in Mashonaland West should stay where they were until further notice from the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development.

The 5,000 squatters are living at Bote, Kasimure, Chiyambi, Nyamahape, and Glen Apart Farm, and had been told to move out within a week to their previous communal lands.

CIVIL SERVICE EFFICIENCY DROPS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Sep 84 p 9

[Text]

HARARE. — Efficiency in the Zimbabwean public service had declined after about 4 500 experienced civil servants chose to resign under an incentive scheme implemented by the Lancaster House Agreement, the chairman of the Public Service Commission, Mr Malcolm Thompson, said yesterday.

Addressing the PSC's annual general meeting in Harare, Mr Thompson said the "traumatic" effect of the scheme on the public service structure could be gauged in that "just 12 days after independence," about 7 500 experienced public servants had become eligible for premature retirement with enhanced benefits.

Of these, some 4 400 had so far taken advantage of the scheme.

"The most efficient public service in the world could not have withstood the impact of such a drain of experience, particularly at a time when a new Government was endeavouring to introduce new services in areas which had been neglected previously," Mr Thompson said.

The scheme had a "profound effect" on general efficiency in the public service. There had been cases where incumbents of all senior Government posts had retired within a few months of each other.

The PSC had subsequently dealt with more than one "exasperating experience" of carrying out a lengthy promotion exercise for a senior post,

only to find that the chosen candidate elected to retire a few months after his promotion was confirmed.

Mr Thompson said the PSC was "gravely" concerned about the reputation of the public service and was doing everything in its power to improve the situation.

The body took "strong exception" to some of the critical remarks about the PSC in some of the earlier reports of the parliamentary public accounts committee. He said the statement appeared to have been made without justification, or on unsubstantiated evidence from ministries.

Most of the committee's often adverse reports, Mr Thompson said, had covered the period up to June 30, 1982, a time when the largest exodus of experienced staff and

the greatest expansion of services was taking place.

"The committee has quite rightly exposed inefficiencies, mismanagement and misuse of Government funds and assets, and has rendered a service to the nation in doing so.

"I believe, however, that the committee has not always appreciated the circumstances under which civil servants were required to carry out their duties, and has on occasion been unfair in its criticism of individual public servants and the PSC," Mr Thompson said.

"The commission considers that by naming civil servants individually in its reports, the committee has served to brand such officers 'guilty' without their being tried," he said. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/9

BRIEFS

MATABELELAND SOUTH BRIDGE PROJECTS--BULAWAYO--Among the projects planned by the Ministry of Transport for Matabeleland South are nine new bridges and the upgrading of roads, the Deputy Minister of Transport, Cde Nelson Mawema said yesterday, speaking at the opening of a bridge on the Jompenpin/Hwali road across the Umtshabezi River, about 70 km northwest of Beitbridge. The Umtshabezi River bridge and the Chinavala bridge, 25 km north of Beitbridge over the Umzingane River were both completed last month and were the first major bridges to be built in Beitbridge district in 15 years, said Cde Mawema. The Ministry of Transport had worked with the District Development Fund to design, finance and build the Umtshabezi bridge, which cost \$600,000. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 20 Sep 84 p 7]

THAI RICE PRICE--Consignments of rice from Thailand are now arriving in Zimbabwe and it costs 16 percent more than the previous stock, a spokesman for the Ministry of Trade and Commerce said yesterday. The new maximum prices for rice were gazetted yesterday. In terms of the amendment to the original order the maximum retail prices for various sized bags are as follows (with the old maximum price in brackets). Half kilogram 52c (44c); 1 kg, \$1.02 (86c); 2 kg \$2.01 (\$1.72); 3 kg, \$2.98 (\$2.59); 5 kg \$4.90 (\$4.31); and 10 kg \$9.66 (\$8.61). Similar percentage rises have been granted to rice packers or wholesalers selling to retailers and the regulations list the new prices for rice collected from a wholesaler or packer by a retailer more than 25 km away.--HERALD reporter. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 15 Sep 84 p 1]

ASBESTOS FOR INDIA--HARARE.--The Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation of India has agreed to buy 8 000 tons of Zimbabwean asbestos worth some R6,5-million, the chairman of the Minerals Marketing corporation of Zimbabwe, Mr Christopher Ushewokunze, has announced. He said in an interview published in Harare yesterday that the US \$3,9-million purchase would be signed in London in the second half of the asbestos would start later in the month. Cash would be paid for 500 tons of the mineral, while 3 500 tons would be bought under the barter deal. said Mr Ushewokunze, who is also Secretary for Mines. He said the Ministry of Trade and commerce would decide on the goods to be sent under the barter deal. India's MMTC also had an option to buy an additional 6 000 tons of asbestos, worth about R4,3-million, Mr Ushewokunze said. The barter component would be worth about \$2,2-million. The asbestos deal follows a five-day visit to Zimbabwe last week by a three-man delegation from the MMTC, led by its executive director, Mr Bhupindar Singh. Mr Ushewokunze said discussions were continuing on possible sales of "a tonnage of nickel" and gemstones. In an interview last week, Mr Singh said India was prepared to buy Zimbabwe's entire production of exportable emeralds. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Sep 84 p 22]

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